AN AUTHENTIC COPY OF THE CORRESPONDENCE IN INDIA,

BETWEEN THE

COUNTRY POWERS

AND THE HONOURABLE THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVANTS;

CONTAINING

AMONGST MANY OTHERS THE LETTERS OF

GOVERNOR HASTINGS,
J. MACPHERSON, ESQ.
J. STABLES, ESQ.
E. WHELER, ESQ.
SIR JOHN CUMMING,
NATH. MIDDLETON, ESQ.
FRANCIS FOWKE, ESQ.
JAMES FRASER, ESQ.
JOHN BRISTOW, ESQ.
DAVID ANDERSON, ESQ.
GENERAL STIBBERT,
COL. MORGAN,
MAJOR PALMER,
MAJOR BROWN,

&c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH THE

MINUTES OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA.

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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Papers relative to Charges IV. *and* XVI *.

Extract of General Letter to Bengal; dated 14*th February* 1783.

Par. 5. WE do not see how the Governor General could consent to the resumption of such lands as the Company had engaged should remain in the hands of those who possessed them previous to the execution of the late treaty, without stronger proofs of the Begum's defection than have been laid before us; neither can we allow it to be good policy to reduce the several Jaghiredars, and thus uniting the territory, and the troops maintained for the protection of that territory, under one head, who may by that means, at some future period, become a very powerful enemy to the Company.

6. With respect to the resumption of the Jaghires possessed by the Begums in particular, and the subsequent seizure of the treasure deposited with the Vizier's mother, which the Governor General, in his letter to the board, 23d January 1782, has declared he strenuously encouraged, and we hope and trust, for the honour of the British nation, that the measure *appeared to be fully justified* in the *eyes* of all Hindostan. The Governor General has informed us "that it can be well attested that the Begums "principally excited and supported the late commotions; "and that they carried their inveteracy to the English "nation so far as to aim at our utter extirpation."

7. It must have been publicly known, that in 1775 the resident at the Vizier's court not only obtained from the Begum, widow of the late Sujah Dowlah, on the Nabob's account, 30 lacks of rupees, half of which was to be paid to the Company, but also the forbearance of 26 lacks—for the repayment of which she had security in land, on the Nabob's agreeing to renounce *all further claims upon her*; and that to this agreement the Company were guarantees.

* *These two Charges are thus joined together, on account of the close affinity between their subjects; it was impossible completely to separate the papers, tending to the respective illustration of each. Those however which seem principally to concern the Begums, have the precedence assigned them.*

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8. We find, that on the 21st December 1775, the Begum complained of a breach of engagements on the part of the Nabob, soliciting your protection for herself, her mother, and for all the women belonging to the seraglio of the late Nabob, from the distresses to which they were reduced: In consequence whereof it was agreed, in cons. 3d January 1776, to remonstrate with the Vizier; the Governor-general remarking, "That as the representative "of our government has become an agent in this busi-"ness, and has pledged the honour and faith of the "Company for the punctual observance of the conditions "under which the treaty was concluded, you had a right "to interfere; and justice demanded it, if it should ap-"pear that those engagements have been violated." And the Board at the same time resolved, "That as soon as "the Begum's engagements with the Nabob, to which "Mr. Bristow is a party, shall be fulfilled on her part, "this government will think themselves bound to protect "her against any further demand or molestation."

9. If, therefore, the disaffection of the Begums was not a matter of public notoriety, we cannot but be alarmed for the effects which these subsequent transactions must have had on the minds of the natives of India. The only consolation we feel upon this occasion is, that the amount of those Jaghires, for which the Company were guarantees, is to be paid through our Resident at the Court of the Vizier; and it very materially concerns the credit of your government, on no account to suffer such payments to be evaded.

10. If it shall hereafter be found that the Begums did not take that hostile part against the Company which has been represented (as well in the Governor-general's narrative, as in several documents therein referred to; and as it no where appears, from the papers at present in our possession, that they excited any commotion, previous to the imprisonment of Rajah Cheyt Sing, but only armed themselves in consequence of that transaction; and as it is probable that such a conduct proceeded entirely from motives of self-defence, under an apprehension that they themselves might likewise be laid under unwarrantable contributions) we direct that you use your influence with the Vizier that their Jaghires may be restored to them; but if they should be under apprehensions respecting the future conduct of the Vizier, and wish our further protection, it is our pleasure that you afford those ladies an asylum within the Company's territories, and there be paid the amount of the net collection of their Jaghires, agreeably to the second article of the late treaty, through the

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the medium of our Refident, as may be afcertained upon an average eftimate of fome years back.

Minute of Mr. Haftings.

Gheretty, 9th October 1783.

I SHOULD gladly acquiefce in the motion made by Mr. Macpherfon, if I thought it poffible to frame a letter to the Begums in any terms which fhould at the fame time convey the intimation propofed by it, and not defeat the purpofe of it, or be productive of evils greater than any which exift in the confequences of the proceedings which have already taken place, and which time has almoft obliterated. The orders of the Court of Directors are conditional; they require nothing, but in the event of difcoveries made fubfequent to the advices which were before you on the 14th of February laft. In alleviation of the former conduct of the Begums, nothing has fince appeared in relation to them, but their refufal, or rather that of one, to fulfil her engagements for the payment of the remainder of the fum exacted from her by the Nabob Vizier in the beginning of laft year. Whatever obedience may be due to the clear afcertained fpirit of the orders of the Court of Directors, this obligation cannot extend to points to which neither the letter nor evident fpirit of their orders apply. If I am rightly informed, the Nabob Vizier and the Begums are on terms of mutual good-will: It would ill become this government to interpofe its influence by any act which might tend to revive their animofities, and a very flight occafion would be fufficient to effect it. It will be to little purpofe to tell them, that their conduct has, in our eftimation of it, been wrong, and at the fame time to announce to them the orders of our fuperiors, which more than vindicate the reverfe; they will inftantly take fire on fuch a declaration, proclaim the judgment of the Company in their favour; demand a reparation of the acts, which they will conftrue wrongs, with fuch a fentence warranting that conftruction; and either accept the invitation to the proclaimed fcandal of the Nabob Vizier, which will not add to the credit of our government, or remain in his dominions, but not under his authority, to add to his vexations, and the diforder of the country, by continual intrigues and feditions: Enough already exifts to affect his peace, and the quiet of his people. If we cannot heal, let us not inflame the wounds which have been inflicted. If the Begums think themfelves aggrieved to fuch a degree as to juftify them in an appeal to a foreign jurifdic-

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tion, to appeal to it against a man ſtanding in the relation of ſon and grandſon to them, to appeal to the juſtice of thoſe who have been the abettors and inſtruments of their imputed wrongs—let us at leaſt permit them to be the judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints before we offer to redreſs them; they will not need to be prompted. I hope I ſhall not depart from the ſimplicity of official language in ſaying, that the majeſty of juſtice ought to be approached with ſolicitation, not deſcend to provoke or invite it, much leſs to debaſe itſelf by the ſuggeſtion of wrongs, and the promiſe of redreſs, with the denunciation of puniſhment before trial, and even before accuſation.

Princes of Oude and Misdemeanors in Oude.

Extract of Letter from the Baboo Begum to Mr. Hastings, received in Calcutta 22 Dec. 1775; shewing the Number of Women the Begums of Oude are under the Necessity of maintaining.

Extract of Letter from the Baboo Begum, Mother of the Nabob Aſoph-ul-Dowlah, to Governor Haſtings; received 22d December 1775.

MURTEZZA KHAN is ſtriving with all his might for the ruin of this ancient family, which he wiſhes utterly to deſtroy. If it is your pleaſure that the mother of the late Nabob, myſelf, and his other women, and infant children, ſhould be reduced to a ſtate of diſhonour and diſtreſs, we muſt ſubmit; but if, on the contrary, you call to mind the friendſhip of the late bleſſed Nabob, you will exert yourſelf ſo effectually in favour of us, who are helpleſs, as to remove Murtezza Khân; he is the author of all the evil. I have no diſpleaſure againſt the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah; let him be maſter of his own affairs. If you do not approve of my remaining at Fyzabad, ſend a perſon here in your name, to remove the mother of the late Nabob, myſelf, and about 2,000 other women and children of the ſaid bleſſed Nabob, together with the women of the Nabob, Burham ul Mulk, and thoſe of Sufdar Jung, from this city, that we may reſide with honour and reputation in ſome other place. We cannot even

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even exist here. Whatever remedy occurs to your wisdom, let it be applied without delay, for we are now brought to the brink of dishonour. In the Nabob's lifetime he was possessed of no more than this single Soubah, and the dues to the English chiefs were paid out of the revenues of it, as also the expences of his army, and his own. At present, that the Soubah is increased to three times its former extent, what becomes of the revenues? No one thinks of making this enquiry, but sums are continually taken from us helpless women.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Nathaniel Middleton to Mr. John Bristow, Resident at the Vizier's Court; dated Lucknow, 23 *October* 1782.

I MUST beg leave to refer you to my correspondence with the honourable the Governor-general for a full account of the origin and nature of my transactions with the Begums at Fyzabad, and the letters which have passed between me and officers who have severally commanded; these will shew you the progress and present state of that business. The balance due from the Bow Begum, upon her agreement made in January last, after allowing her credit for the trifling articles lately sent here by Major Gilpin, will be about five lacks, which I apprehend may be realized, if you deem it expedient to continue the restraints which have been imposed for that purpose. She had indeed given Major Gilpin the most satisfactory assurances of an immediate liquidation of this long-depending account, in which I believe she was sincere; but, probably from an expectation of a change of measures upon my removal, she has lately retracted those assurances, and now declares her determination to make no further payment whatever, but upon the certainty of her Jaghyre being restored to her, which I could give her no hopes of, as the propriety of its resumption has been sanctified by the approbation of the honourable the Governor-general; who further expressly enjoins me, in his instructions of the 27th January, to exert my influence with the Nabob to prevent the conclusion of any final settlement between him and the Begums, until I should be furnished with instructions from him or the board on that head. Not having since the above date received any directions from the board or the Governor-general, relative to the Begums, I know not what may be their wishes in regard to them, but I thought it at all events my duty, conformable to the spirit of the orders I had received, to retain possession of the Kittu of Fyzabad, and the persons of the Bow Begum's two principal eunuchs, until the sum she had stipu-

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lated to pay was fully liquidated, or the honourable Board ſhould notify their further pleaſure.

A true copy.

J. Neave,

Aſſiſtant to the Reſident at the Vizier's court.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 28th Auguſt 1783.

MR. Wheler having left the following minute with the ſecretary, in conſequence of reading the general letter of the 14th February, at the laſt meeting in the public department, it is now conſidered.

Mr. Wheler.—It always has been, and always will be, my wiſh to conform implicity to the orders of the Court of Directors; and I truſt that the opinion which I ſhall give upon that part of the Court's letter which is now before us will not be taken up againſt its meaning, as going to a breach of them. The orders at preſent under the Board's conſideration are entirely proviſional.

Nothing has paſſed, ſince the concluſion of the agreement made by the Governor-general with the Vizier at Chunar, which induces me to alter the opinion which I before held, as well from the Governor-general's reports to this Board, as the opinions which I have heard of many individuals totally unconcerned in the ſubject, that the Begums at Fyzabad did take a hoſtile part againſt the Company during the diſturbances in Benares; and I am impreſſed with a conviction, that the conduct of the Begums did not proceed entirely from motives of ſelf-defence. But as the Court of Directors appear to be of a different opinion, and conceive that there ought to be ſtronger proofs of the defection of the Begums than have been laid before them, I think that before we decide on their orders, the late and preſent Reſident at the Vizier's court, and the commanding officers in the Vizier's country, ought to be required to collect and lay before the Board all the information they can obtain with reſpect to the defection of the Begums, during the troubles in Benares, and their preſent diſpoſition to the Company.

The Governor-general deſires to record the following minute.

The Governor-general.—I think that Mr. Wheler has miſconceived the intention of the Court of Directors. I have attentively read the fourth and ſubſequent paragraphs of the letter of the 14th February, but find no order expreſſed or implied in them, which can warrant the enquiry propoſed by Mr. Wheler. The Court of Directors is already

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already in possession of complete and legal evidence of the hostile part taken by the Begums of Fyzabad against the Company. I cannot directly object to the proposal for collecting fresh evidence on the same charges, but I must be informed of the object of it before I can assent to it; I do therefore object to the question, in the present terms and state of it.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 22d September 1783.

THE following minute having been received from Mr. Stables the 18th instant, is now recorded.

September 9th, 1783.

The Court of Directors, by their letter of the 14th February 1783, seem not to be satisfied that the disaffection of the Begums to this government is sufficiently proved by the evidence before them.

I therefore think that the late and present resident, and commanding officers in the Vizier's country at the time, should be called upon to collect what further information they can on this subject, in which the honour and dignity of this government is so materially concerned, that such information may be immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors.

In the enquiry proposed to be made, I wish it particularly to be attended to, whether any hostile intention, or mark of disaffection to this government, in the conduct of the Begums, appeared before the troubles at Benares.

I think the Resident at the Vizier's court should be called upon to give information to the Board, whether the amount of the Begums' Jaghire has been paid to them, and by what channel the payment has been made.

The Governor-general desires that the paragraph of the letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th February 1783, which Mr. Stables alludes to in his minute, may be entered in this place, because it does not appear to him that the Court of Directors had directed any enquiry to be made such as is now proposed; that it appears to him both too late and unnecessary at this time to renew it, as every strong and authenticated evidence of the disaffection of the Begums has been collected, and transmitted to the Court of Directors, and as the reasons assigned by the Court of Directors, if these shall be transmitted with the orders for the enquiry, will prove in their effect an order collecting evidence to the justification and acquittal of the Begums, not for the investigation of the truth of the charges which have been preferred against them.

The Governor-general thinks it unneceſſary to make any other comment upon the motion, or to give either his aſſent or diſſent to it, but as the latter may be applied in the preceding obſervations.

If evidence is to be collected, it ſhould be collected from all perſons capable of giving it, and not confined to official characters.

Extract of a General Letter from the Honourable Court of Directors; dated 14*th February* 1783.

Par. 6. With reſpect to the reſumption of the Jaghires poſſeſſed by the Begums in particular, and the ſubſequent ſeizures of treaſure depoſited with the Vizier's mother, which the Governor-general in his letter to your Board 23d January 1782, has declared he ſtrenuouſly encouraged and ſupported, we hope and truſt, for the honour of the Britiſh nation, that the meaſure appeared to be fully juſtified in the eyes of all Hindoſtan. The Governor-general has informed us "that it can be well atteſted that the "Begums principally excited and ſupported the late commotions, and that they carried their inveteracy to the "Engliſh ſo far as to aim at our utter extirpation."

Par. 9. If therefore the diſaffection of the Begums was not a matter of public notoriety, we cannot but be alarmed for the effects which theſe ſubſequent tranſactions muſt have had on the minds of the natives of India. The only conſolation we feel upon this occaſion is, that the amount of thoſe Jaghires, for which the Company were guarrantees, is to be paid through our Reſident at the court of the Vizier; and it very materially concerns the credit of your government on no account to ſuffer ſuch payments to be evaded.

10. If it ſhall hereafter be found, that the Begums did not take that hoſtile part againſt the Company which has been repreſented (as well in the Governor-general's narrative as in ſeveral documents therein referred to; and as it no where appears from the papers at preſent in our poſſeſſion, that they excited any commotion previous to the impriſonment of Rajah Cheyt Sing, but only armed themſelves in conſequence of that tranſaction; and as it is not probable that ſuch a conduct proceeded entirely from motives of ſelf-defence, under an apprehenſion that they themſelves might likewiſe be laid under unwarrantable contributions) we direct that you uſe your influence with the Vizier, that their Jaghires may be reſtored to them; but if they ſhould be under apprehenſions reſpecting the future conduct of the Vizier, and wiſh our further protection, it is our pleaſure that you afford thoſe Ladies an aſylum within the Company's territories, and there be

paid

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paid the amount of the net collection of their Jaghire, agreeably to the 2d article of the late treaty, through the medium of our Resident, as may be ascertained upon an average estimate of some years back.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 13th October 1783.

MR. Macpherson having delivered the following opinion upon the Company's orders of the 14th of February, respecting the Begums at Fyzabad, it was sent in circulation, and is now entered.

Received 3 October. 25 Sept.

I have read the general letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th of February with attention. When it was first read in Council, I understood the paragraph about the Begums as directing an investigation of the grounds on which they were deprived of their Jaghires, and that we should use our influence with the Vizier to put them in possession of the Jaghires, if there was not sufficient evidence of their rebellious conduct during the troubles of Benares. On a close attention to the words and spirit of the different paragraphs upon this subject, I do not think that we are directed to commence any new investigation of evidence; indeed I do not well see how such an investigation could be regularly undertaken, or what salutary purpose it could produce: there has been no appeal from the Begums to this government; and there certainly was sufficient proof at the time, that those who had the management of their concerns during the troubles at Benares were no friends, but real enemies to the cause of the English. The points which the Court of Directors seem to have most at heart are, 1st. That the engagement of the 2d article of the Benares treaty should be faithfully fulfilled; and, 2dly, to guard against the future conduct of the Vizier, if he should be disposed to oppress the Begums. We should therefore ascertain whether the amount of the Jaghires of the Begums is regularly paid to them through the Company's Resident, and give them notice that no future demands shall be made upon them. This, I think, the Governor-general might do in a letter that would make the Begums sensible of their past misconduct, yet inform them of the lenity and gracious intentions of the Company, in ordering them an asylum in Bengal, in case of future distress.

In consequence of the foregoing opinion from Mr. Macpherson, the following minute was delivered by the Governor-general.

Gheretty,

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Gheretty, 9th October 1783.

I ſhould gladly acquieſce in the motion made by Mr. Macpherſon, if I thought it poſſible to frame a letter to the Begums, in any terms which ſhould at the ſame time convey the intimation propoſed by it, and not defeat the purpoſe of it; or be productive of evils greater than any which exiſt in the conſequences of the proceedings which have already taken place, and which time has almoſt obliterated. The orders of the Court of Directors are conditional; they require nothing but in the event of diſcoveries made ſubſequent to the advices which were before you on the 14th of February laſt, in alleviation of the former conduct of the Begums. Nothing has ſince appeared in relation to them, but their refuſal, or rather that of one, to fulfil her engagements for the payment of the remainder of the ſum exacted from her by the Nabob Vizier, in the beginning of laſt year. Whatever obedience may be due to the clear aſcertained ſpirit of the orders of the Court of Directors, this obligation cannot extend to points which neither the letter nor evident ſpirit of their orders apply. If I am rightly informed, the Nabob Vizier and the Begums are on terms of mutual good-will. It would ill become this government to interpoſe its influence by any act which might tend to revive their animoſities, and a very ſlight occaſion would be ſufficient to effect it. It will be to little purpoſe to tell them that their conduct has, in our eſtimation of it, been wrong, and at the ſame time to announce to them the orders of our ſuperiors, which more than vindicate the reverſe; they will inſtantly take fire on ſuch a declaration, proclaim the judgment of the company in their favour, demand a reparation of the acts which they will conſtrue wrongs, with ſuch a ſentence warranting that conſtruction, and either accept the invitation, to the proclaimed ſcandal of the Nabob Vizier (which will not add to the credit of our government) or remain in his dominions, but not under his authority, to add to his vexations, and the diſorder of the country, by continual intrigues and ſeditions: enough already exiſts to affect his peace, and the quiet of his people—if we cannot heal, let us not inflame the wounds which have been inflicted. If the Begums think themſelves aggrieved to ſuch a degree as to juſtify them in an appeal to a foreign juriſdiction; to appeal to it againſt a man ſtanding in the relation of ſon and grandſon to them; to appeal to the juſtice of thoſe who have been the abettors and inſtruments of their imputed wrongs; let us at leaſt permit them to be the judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints before we offer to redreſs them—they will not need to be prompted.

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prompted. I hope I ſhall not depart from the ſimplicity of official language in ſaying, that the majeſty of juſtice ought to be approached with ſolicitation, not deſcend to provoke or invite it, much leſs to debaſe itſelf by the ſuggeſtion of wrongs, and the promiſe of redreſs, with the denunciation of puniſhment before trial, and even before accuſation.

Mr. Macpherſon.—I ſee, with the Governor-general, the difficulty of writing a letter to the Begums that would not in ſome degree extenuate their paſt conduct, yet convey to them a knowledge of the protection tendered to them, in the event of future diſtreſſes, by the Court of Directors. I wiſhed to adopt an expedient to ſhew the Company that we were ready to meet any wiſhes they had on the ſubject: I only ſuggeſted the idea, but do not move it as a queſtion; the majeſty of juſtice ought certainly to be met with ſolicitation, and ſhould not deſcend to provoke or invite it; but from ſome expreſſions in the letter of the Court of Directors, I am led to think they had ſome complaint before them, or a different repreſentation from the evidence ſent by this government about the rebellion of the Begums, when they wrote their directions of the 14th February laſt, otherwiſe they would either have approved or diſapproved of the conduct of this adminiſtration, upon the facts ſtated to them, or have been ſilent till they received further advices. I agree with Mr. Stables, that the Reſident at the court of Oude ſhould be called upon to ſtate to the Board, whether the Begums have received the amount of their Jaghires.

Extract of General Letter from Bengal; dated 20th October 1783.

THE directions which you have been pleaſed to give, in your commands of the 14th February laſt, concerning the Begums at Fyzabad, have alſo produced different opinions upon them at this Boaad; which being recorded, we muſt beg leave to refer you to our proceedings, noted in the margin *, for a reply to that part of your letter.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 21ſt October 1783.

READ the following letter from Mr. Briſtow.

* *Conſ.* 28 *Aug. Mr. Wheler's Minute.—Governor-general's do.—*22*d Mr. Stables do.—Governor-general's do.——* 13 *Oct. Mr. Macpherſon's do.—Governor-general's do.— Mr. McPherſon do.*

Honourable

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Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have received your commands of the 28 ultimo, and now transmit you a list of the Jaghires resumed since the agreement made by the honourable the Governor-general with his Excellency the Vizier, at Chunar, in September 1781, as furnished me by Hyder Beg Cawn. The list I had formerly the honour to forward to your honourable Board was the sum proposed to be allowed to the proprietors, in lieu of the income of their Jaghires, and not the actual amount: my ascertaining these particulars has occasioned the delay in my replying to your orders.

I have only to observe, in regard to the situation of the Jaghiredars, that very few of them have received any part of their allowances, and they are all in distress.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow, 25 Sept. 1783. (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW, Resident at the Vizier's court.

Account of the Resumed Jaghires in the Fussullee Year 1189.

The Nawaub Salar Jung, and his sons	6,71,304	11	—
The family and sons of the late Mirza Ally Cawn	3,26,315	—	—
The Bhow Beagum	8,00,001	—	—
The Nawaub Beagum	1,95,460	3	6
Sherof Ally Cawn, Lulf Ally Cawn, and the family of Bund Ally Cawn	34,801	7	—
Hussun Reza Cawn	13,000	—	—
Nawaub Modar Ul Dowlah	69,999	12	6
Imaum ul Dien Cawn	15,470	14	6
Khaim Cawnd Hingam Cawn	69,166	—	9
Rajah Tipper Chund	10,000	—	—
Holah Sing	57,566	—	—
Sobah Sing	54,298	9	—
Nuddee Sing	43,399	—	—
Mooly Sing	36,500	—	—
Newar Sing	35,000	—	—
Rowanny Sing	39,001	—	—
Mirza Rustum Ally	6,961	—	—
Bur Eear Sing	9,741	9	—
Mohim Sing	7,381	—	—
Behadre Sing	7,165	—	—
Mahommed Ghose	6,000	—	—
Gholaum Cawn	6,000	—	—
Umber Ally Cawn	34,817	—	—
Auffrein Ally Cawn	40,000	—	—
Khosh Nuzzer Ally Cawn	12,501	—	—

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Eofuph Ally Cawn - -	12,533	14	6
Buffunt Ally Cawn - -	3,825	13	—
Almafs Ally Cawn - -	30,000	—	—
Mahomed Wudgee - - -	600	—	—
Meer Umjud - - -	8,051	—	—
Mahomed Shuffy - - -	670	14	—
Seyf Ulla - - -	5,954	5	6
Ally Achbus Beg - -	10,273	—	—
Mahomed Fazil - - -	301	—	—
Mahomed Ecar Cawn - -	4,376	—	—
Hubbee Beg - - -	12,000	—	—
Bhamut Ulla - - -	5,273	—	—
Salaim Ulla Cawn - - -	7,173	1	—
Nader Huffem Cawn - -	7,031	—	—
Meer Zeah ul Deen - -	5,758	8	6
Mungoo Beg - - -	9,670	5	6
Buxhoor Nur - - -	1,501	—	—
Mohim Gudgee - - -	2,471	—	—
Meer Fazil Ally - -	11,037	—	—
Rajah Jao Loll - - -	41,942	8	—
Meer Maooah - - -	1,211	—	—
Hicmut Huffum Cawn - -	4,906	1	—
Sufder Ally Cawn - - -	2,400	—	—
Moda Buck - - -	450	—	—
Meer Khys Ulla - -	13,000	—	—
Mirza Ruftee Soudah - -	2,370	—	—
Moonfhy Baffet - -	425	—	—
Rajah Befhim Sing - - -	16,500	—	—
Roy Wholafs Roy - -	11,500	—	—
Khaujah Neamut Ulla - -	4,031	—	—
Huffem Ally, and Bauher Ally -	2,263	—	—
Mahomed Suddeah - -	14,000	—	—
Mahomed Ally - - -	2,134	—	—
Ruddre Mun Shoozul - -	13,202	—	—
Mahomed Nur - - -	12,669	12	—
Turhaud Ally Cawn - -	7,082	4	—
Mirza Huffein - -	14,130	11	—
Mahomed Saud Cawn - -	4,015	—	—
Jaghire Lutafut Ally Cawn -	1,15,805	12	—
Jaghire Rajah Goyend Ram -	22,000	—	—
Rupees	30,53,590	1	3

Errors excepted.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
Refident at the Vizier's Court.

Ordered,

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Ordered, That Mr. Briſtow be directed to furniſh the Board with a particular account, ſpecifying the amount actually paid to the Begums at Fyzabad, ſince the reſumption of the Jaghires took effect in the year 1781, and the amount actually due to them; and to inform the Board whether the payments have been made to them through him.

Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal; dated 25th November 1783.

Par. 11. IN our addreſs by the Nerbudda, we had the honour of acquainting you, that a queſtion had ariſen at our Board on your letter of the 14th of February, reſpecting the Begums at Fyzabad. We have now the pleaſure to acquaint you, that your wiſhes in relation to their Jaghires have been ſupported by the Vizier himſelf, who has deſired that their Jaghires may be reſtored to them. A copy of his letter to the Governor-general is tranſmitted for your peruſal and information in this diſpatch.

From the Nabob Vizier:

Uſual Introduction. Received 6th Nov. 1783.

THE authority and influence of the Jagierdas in the Jageers diſtricts were formerly the cauſes of ſome diſorders in thoſe of government, and the Aumils of the latter were wont to make complaints. It had become an object with me alſo to reduce the Jageers to their original value. Moreover, during the diſturbances at Benares, I had entertained ſuſpicions of the fidelity of ſome of the Jageerdars; and for the preceding reaſons, when at Chunargar, I propoſed the ſequeſtration of my grandmother's and mother's Jageers, and of thoſe of the Nabob Saulaur Jung, and others of my relations and connections; and on my return to the Soubah of Oude, I carried the meaſure into execution. In the courſe of the two years that their Jageers have been ſequeſtered (for the preſent is the third year of their ſequeſtration) the motives to that meaſure have been anſwered, and my doubts fully ſatisfied. There are now none who will preſume to diſobey my will; and the diſtreſſes which they individually ſuffer are beyond deſcription: And on this account it is now my wiſh to put my grandmother, my mother, the Nabob Saulur Jung, and others of my relations, agreeably to the accompanying liſt, again in poſſeſſion of their Jageers. I therefore requeſt that you will write to Mr. Briſtow not to oppoſe the meaſure, but to allow them to be delivered up. Conclude as uſual.

List

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List of Jageers accompanying the preceding Letter.

Jageers, and Names of Jageerdars, as follows:

Jageer of my Grandmother.
Jageer of my Mother.
Jageer of the Nabob Saulaur Jung.
Jageer of the ſons and family of the late Nabob Iftikhaur a Dowla, Meerza Ally Khan.
Jageer of the Nabob Jummaumdeen.
Jageer of the ſons of Bund Alli Yhhaun.
Jageer of the Nabob Muddaur U'Dowla.

A true Copy of the Tranſlation.
(Signed) E. HAY,
Acting Secretary to the Secret Department.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 25th November 1783.

To Edward Hay, Eſquire, Sub-Secretary.

I AM favoured with your letter of the 21ſt ultimo, conveying the orders of the honourable Governor-general and Council, directing me to furniſh a particular account, ſpecifying the amount actually paid to the Begums at Fyzabad ſince the reſumption of their Jagheers took effect in 1781—the ſum actually due to them—and whether the payments to them have been made through me.

As it will be ſome days before I ſhall be able to obtain the accounts required by the Board, you will oblige me in repreſenting this circumſtance, that the delay may not be imputed to neglect, or inattention to their commands.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
Reſident at the Vizier's Court.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 16th December 1783.

READ the following letter from Mr. Briſtow.

Edward Hay, Eſquire, Sub-Secretary.

Sir,

As I have not yet been able to procure from the Miniſter of his Highneſs the documents and accounts neceſſary to enable me to furniſh the honourable Board with the explanation required from me in our letter of the 21ſt ultimo, I muſt beg, if any mention of this matter ſhould occur, that you will acquaint the gentlemen with the occaſion

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occasion of the delay; assuring them I shall obey their commands the moment the accounts are delivered to me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lucknow, 17 Nov. 1783.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Nabob Hyder Beg Cawn.

WHEN I prevailed upon the Nabob Vizier to commit the entire charge of his revenues and the administration of his finances to his ministers, of whom you are the acting and responsible person, with the concurrence of the Resident, Mr. Middleton, I had so sure a reliance on your integrity, diligence, and abilities, which are universally known, and no less on the same qualities of Mr. Middleton, that I departed with a mind perfectly at ease, expecting that order would be restored to the Nabob's affairs, capable and trust-worthy Aumils appointed to the superintendance of the districts, the forces duly stationed for the security of peace and the confirmation of the authority of the Sirkar, and that the past and growing debt of the Company would be completely discharged in the course of the year, and that I should receive the thanks of the Nabob, your master, for the effects of my solicitude for the support of his dignity and ease. The event has proved the reverse of these hopes;—an accumulation of distress, debasement, and dissatisfaction to the Nabob, and of disappointment and disgrace to me.—Every measure which he had himself proposed, and to which he had solicited my assistance, has been so conducted, as to give him cause of displeasure; there are no officers established, by which his affairs could be regularly conducted; mean, incapable, and indigent men have been appointed Aumils of the districts, without authority, and without the means of personal protection; some of them have been murdered by the Zemindars; and those Zemindars, instead of punishment, have been permitted to retain their Zemindarries with independent authority; all the other Zemindars suffered to rise up in rebellion, and to insult the authority of the Sircar, without any attempt made to suppress them; and the Company's debt, instead of being discharged by the assignments and extraordinary sources of money provided for that purpose, is likely to exceed even the amount at which it stood at the time in which

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which the arrangement with his Excellency was concluded. The growth of these evils was early made known to me, and their effects foreboded in the same order and manner as they have since come to pass.—Added to these, I this instant learn, that Almass Ally Cawn, to whom you had entrusted the greatest portion of the collections, without any pledge or security for his fidelity, has thrown off his allegiance, and quitted the Nabob's dominions, taking with him an immense treasure, the fruit of his embezzlements and oppressions, and an army raised for its protection. This too was long since foretold, and ought to have been suspected.

In such a state of calamity and disgrace, I can no longer remain a passive spectator; nor would it be becoming to conceal my sentiments, or qualify the expression of them. I have hitherto forborne to interfere, that I might not weaken your influence, and thereby disable you from fulfilling the responsibility of the great trust which had been assigned to you. I now plainly tell you, that you are answerable for every misfortune and defect of the Nabob Vizier's government. You possess abilities, and the means of retrieving them; nor is it yet too late, for the resources of the country still remain: I expect it, and immediately.—And as the first effect of your exertions, I require, that the balance, which is due to the Company, be fully cleared by the end of the year; so that not an anna shall remain in arrears. I have a right to exact this return to the confidence which the world has seen me place in you, and to the good offices which the friendship of the Nabob Vizier has enabled me to afford you. If I am disappointed, you will impose on me the painful and humiliating necessity of acknowledging to him, that I have been deceived, and of recommending the examination of your conduct to his justice, both for the redress of his own and Company's grievances, and for the injury sustained by both in their mutual connexion.

Do not reply to me, that what I have written is from the suggestion of your enemies, nor imagine, that I have induced myself to write in such plain and declaratory terms, without a clear insight into all the consequences of it, and a fixed determination upon them.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 7th September 1782.

THE Governor General having received a private letter from Major Palmer at Lucknow, which he has sent to Mr. Wheler, with a request that he will lay it before the Board for their consideration; it is now read, with the Governor General's sentiments upon it, as follows:

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The papers now laid before the Board, contain information, whether true or false, of such an alarming nature, as to requre some immediate and effectual measure to prevent the possible consequences of the circumstances therein contained. In the present instance, delicacy to Mr. Johnson cannot be regarded; a whole province may be thrown into convulsions by it, and those of the Company be involved in the general confusion. The Governor-general himself has no doubt of the truth of the information; and if such violent measures could be necessary to the interests of the Company, it was Mr. Johnson's duty to have communicated that necessity, and his motives for such conduct, together with the steps he had taken, to the Board;—but such information has never been given to us by him, and he must therefore thank himself for consequences arising out of his own remissness and inattention to his duty.

Sir,

I have received your orders to quit Lucknow, and am preparing to obey them.

Hyder Beg Cawn called upon me yesterday morning, to acquaint me that he had heard of my recall from Mr. Johnstone, and to declare, that as my presence was the only check upon that gentleman's violent designs against him, he would not remain in the Vizier's dominions a moment after my departure. I put in his hands a copy of your letter to him; he was amply affected by the perusal, that for a considerable time he was incapable of utterance, and at last was obliged to leave me abruptly, to defer the explanation of his conduct until his mind is more composed: Whatever may be his character and proceedings, the injuries and insults which he daily sustains at the hands of Mr. Johnstone, are impolitic as well as ungenerous, and are in their nature insupportable. Mr. Johnstone's motive for a conduct so diametrically opposite to that of his principal and friend, is either calculated to impress a belief of his having had no share or influence in measures which he sees universally condemned, or is more probably the result of a concerted plan between him and Mr. Middleton, to drive Hyder Beg Cawn out of the country, that they may fix the entire blame of mismanagement upon him, and suppress his evidence, which could not fail to criminate themselves: The delay of Mr. Middleton in returning to his station, strongly warrants this supposition.

I endeavoured to encourage Hyder Beg Cawn to a reliance on your justice, by assuring him that you would not hold him responsible for measures which had been dictated

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dictated to him by an influence he could not oppose, and by explaining to him your intentions respecting the subjects contained in your letter to him. But before your protection can be extended to him, he may be ruined by the power and malice of Johnstone, and I am afraid that his natural timidity will impel him to some precipitate resolution of fatal consequence to the Vizier's affairs.

I have been with the Nabob since I begun my letter; he appears equally surprized and distressed that you have recalled me without giving him intimation of it, and considers it as a plain indication of measures to be adopted here, incompatible with the sentiments which you instructed me to impart to him: He has lost all expectations of deliverance from the usurpations of Mr. Johnstone, and regards his authority as annihilated for ever; a kind of sullen despair seems to have possessed his mind; he earnestly intreats me, as his last hope, to wait for your sentiments upon the representations which Mr. Davy will make to you, and declares that if these should not induce you to afford him relief, he will demand an asylum in Calcutta.

Lucknow, I am, &c.
24th Aug. 1782. (Signed) W. PALMER.

Translation of a Letter from Hyder Beg Khawn to Major William Davy; received September 6th, 1782, at Calcutta.

Usual Introduction.

I HAVE wrote you two letters previous to this, which I hope are arrived. The former language and carriage of the acting chief here have again been received, and in such manner, that in consequence thereof we can no longer know each other. His conduct has turned out extraordinary indeed, and is all the offspring of artifice. I repeatedly hinted to you when at Lucknow, that he was not unwatchful of his object, and that he was meditating my ruin, inasmuch as every mark of favour conferred upon me by the Governor has been displeasing to him; and the circumstance I apprehended has now come to pass, for he has caused letters of reprimand to be written to me by the Governor. I am on all occasions ready to fulfil the Governor's pleasure: This declaration I have repeatedly made to you, and I should doubt not but you will represent the same to him. With respect to the advantage he (Mr. Johnstone) has taken in accusing me, I am now silent; I will first pay off the balance due to the Company, and then, relying on the kindness of the justice of the Governor, I am ready to answer to every particular.

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ticular. At the end of two days I will write you fully of the plan now in agitation for discharging the debt. It is well that he has taken the lead in accusing me; I shall now also do my duty in representing my situation; as soon as the money due to the Company is paid, I will inform the Governor in the fullest manner of his conduct with respect to me, and I will write particularly to you on the same subject from thence; the propriety or impropriety of my conduct will be made known. In fact he has, in order to render me contemptible, appointed the Aumils of his own choice, and in such a manner, that no one either attends the presence of the Nawaub, or comes to visit me. Sitting in his apartment, he sends for whatever Sunnuds or orders he thinks proper; without remedy I write and deliver them: He moreover directs the Sunnuds to be sent on his own part to the residence of the persons for whom they are made out, as if such matters had no connexion with the Sircar of the Navvaub. As soon as the debt is discharged every thing shall be related. His complaints also to the Governor, that by the continuance of Major Palmer the Company's affairs, such as the receipt of the balance, &c. are retarded, are all written for the purpose of securing and establishing himself, for no such obstructions to the Company's concerns have ever been produced by the presence of Major Palmer; on the contrary, in the confidence derived therefrom, several affairs have been brought to a conclusion. After payment of the balance, when the state of things here shall be communicated at large, it will be understood that, owing to the encouragement and confidence given by Major Palmer, affairs have been concluded, and that no impediments have ever arisen therefrom. All these are the contrivances of Mr. Johnstone, who is the all-powerful here. The Vizier has no power in this place, nor the Naib of the Vizier, nor Mr. Middleton; the sole master of affairs is Mr. Johnson: Whatever he writes to Mr. Middleton, that Mr. Middleton writes to Calcutta, otherwise it is not Mr. Middleton's disposition to traduce any one without cause. In a word, that which I foretold to you respecting him has come to pass; by the blessing of God the whole will be known in a few days. You may speak on these affairs with confidence; the Governor's pleasure shall be fulfilled; there shall be no neglect upon me; and some measure be taken, otherwise I will not continue in this society. As soon as the Company's money is paid I will wait upon the Governor. I have in such manner continued to devote myself, both in life and fortune, to the service of the Company, that all mankind here have become my enemies; but owing to

Mr.

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Mr. Johnſon my endeavours have been converted into miſdemeanors.

In conſequence of the above advices, and various other informations relative to the diſtracted ſtate of the Vizier's country, which evidently prove the neglect of the acting Reſident, in not having made any communications whatever regarding them to this government, the Governor-general gave it as his opinion to the members of the Board reſpectively, that Mr. Richard Johnſtone, who in the abſence of Mr. Middleton the Reſident was left in charge of that office, ſhould be ordered immediately down to Calcutta; and that the commanding officer at Cawnpore ſhould be directed, in caſe of the diſobedience of Mr. Johnſtone, to ſee the orders of the Board enforced: He further expreſſed his opinion, that a copy of the orders of the Board ſhould be tranſmitted to Mr. Middleton, who it may be ſuppoſed will by that time be returned to his ſtation, that he may likewiſe aſſiſt in enforcing his execution of them.

The Board, taking the purport of theſe advices and communications into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and being fully ſatisfied of the neceſſity of recalling Mr. Johnſtone immediately from Lucknow, both to quiet the Vizier's apprehenſions, and to oblige him to anſwer for his paſt conduct.

Reſolved, That the following letter be immediately diſpatched to him.

Mr. Richard Johnſton.

Sir,

You are hereby peremptorily ordered and commanded, within forty-eight hours of the receipt of this letter, to quit Lucknow, and repair without delay to the preſidency of Fort William.

We have further to acquaint you, that the commanding officer at Cawnpore has been directed to enforce theſe orders in caſe of diſobedience on your part.

Previous to your departure, you will deliver over the charge of the Reſidency, with all the treaſure, accounts, papers, and other documents, of which you are in poſſeſſion, to the next ſenior aſſiſtant on the ſpot, if Mr. Middleton is not already returned to Lucknow.

We are, &c. &c.

Fort William,
7th Sept. 1782.

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To Mr. N. Middleton.

Sir,

Having thought it neceſſary to order Mr. Johnſtone's immediate return to the preſidency, we incloſe a copy of the letter we have ſent to him, to which you will require his faithful obedience.

Fort William, We are, &c. &c.
7th Sept. 1782.

To Colonel James Morgan, commanding the Troops at Cawnpore.

Sir,

Having thought it neceſſary to order Mr. Richard Johnſton to quit Lucknow within forty-eight hours of the receipt of our letter to him of this date, and to repair immediately to the preſidency, we hereby direct you to enforce this order, by means of a military guard, in caſe of Mr. Johnſtone's diſobedience; for which purpoſe you will write to the officer in command at Lucknow, or adopt ſuch other effectual means as you ſhall think proper.

Fort William, We are, &c.
7th Sept. 1782.

Extract of Bengal General Conſultations, the 23d September 1782.

RECEIVED the following letter from the Governor-general.

Gentlemen,

A few days before my preſent indiſpoſition commenced, I informed you, that I was ſorry to find that the Reſident at the Vizier's court had evidently failed in his duty to this government, in not having carried into execution the conditions and ſpirit of the late treaty with the Vizier. I had farther the mortification to be obliged to inform you, that neither the Reſident, nor his deputy in his abſence, had communicated to me the confuſions which had ariſen in the Vizier's dominions from a neglect or violation of the treaty.

The letters which I wrote, in conſequence of ſuch miſmanagements, to the Reſident and to the acting miniſter of the Vizier, were laid before you and approved.

Upon the ſame occaſion I obſerved to you, that the obſtacle which oppoſed itſelf to the nomination of Mr. Briſtow to the reſidentſhip at Oude no longer exiſted; it was removed by my having vindicated what muſt ever be eſteemed one of the neceſſary privileges of this government: I had the pleaſure of finding, upon the moſt impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Briſtow, during his

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his former residence at the court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive. I accordingly wished to recommend him to succeed the present Resident, provided the Vizier had no reasonable objections to his appointment.

I have now great satisfaction in informing you, that my letter to the acting minister of the Vizier has had the happiest effect, in realizing the heavy balances due to the Company from Oude; and it is said, that the present Resident and his deputy are brought to a proper sense of their duty to the Company.

But as in every act of my administration of the affairs of the Company, I never had an object in view but their permanent interest, as far as my judgment could direct me, and as prejudice in favour of those in whom I have confided, or against those who opposed me, vanish in my mind when the good of the service requires it, I now wish you to recall Mr. Middleton from the court of the Vizier, and to appoint Mr. Bristow in his room.

My weak state of health obliges me to dictate this letter from my bed; yet I cannot but add, that your instructions to Mr. Bristow should be strong and positive upon three points: first, that he should always shew every possible respect to the Vizier and his family. Secondly, that he should take the most effectual steps for securing all that may remain unpaid of the Company's balances. Thirdly, that the security and internal peace of the Vizier's dominions, and the happiness of the people, should be continually in his view, and that he should communicate fully and freely with this government upon those subjects.—— The state of my health requires my proceeding farther up the river, and I shall communicate to Mr. Bristow, with your approbation, any more particular instructions that may occur to me, and that I may be able to send him.

Upon the Ganges, I am, with esteem, &c.
near Sooksagore, (Signed)
22d September 1782. Warren Hastings.

The Board, in conformity to the Governor-general's recommendation, and sensible of the propriety of the measure,

Resolve to recall Mr. Middleton immediately from the Vizier's court.

The Board further resolve, That Mr. Bristow be appointed to succeed Mr. Middleton, and ordered to proceed with the utmost dispatch to Lucknow, to take charge of that office.

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The following letters are accordingly written:

Sir,

Having thought fit to recall you to the presidency, and to appoint Mr. John Bristow to succeed to your station, we hereby direct, that on Mr. Bristow's arrival at Lucknow, you immediately deliver over charge to him of the office of Resident, with all the treasure, accounts, papers, documents, and dependencies thereunto belonging, and make the best of your way to Calcutta; for which place you will then set out without further delay.

We are, &c.

Fort William, the 23d September 1782.

(Signed) Governor-general and Council.

Sir,

I am directed by the honourable the Governor-general and Council to inform you, that they have been pleased to appoint you Resident at the court of the Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, in the room of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, removed. You will therefore proceed to Lucknow with all possible dispatch, and receive charge of that station, with all the treasure, accounts, papers, documents, and dependencies thereunto belonging, from Mr. Middleton. Instructions and credentials will be immediately prepared for you.

I am, &c.

Fort William, the 23d September 1782.

(Signed) J. P. Auriol, Secretary.

Mr. Macpherson.

I cannot but express great satisfaction at the Governor-general's recommendation of Mr. Bristow to succeed to the residency at the Vizier's court; an office to which he was named by the Company, and to which his abilities and experience are understood to render him very equal.

The conduct of Mr. Middleton in various instances appears to me highly reprehensible. His negligence in not informing this government of the confusions, if not general rebellion, in the Vizier's country; and his dilatoriness in realizing the heavy debt due by the Vizier to the Company, appear to me, in the present crisis of public affairs, as crimes against the state, and as such they should be rigidly investigated. Mr. Johnson's conduct as acting Resident appears to me to be subject to a similar impeachment; but as I should be equally sorry to condemn the conduct of any servant of this government, before he has every fair power for vindication given him—as I would

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would be rigid in enforcing a juſt puniſhment after condemnation, ſo I ſhall move, upon the return of Meſſieurs Middleton and Johnſon to the preſidency, that they may be called upon to account for their miſmanagement at Oude, and that the complaints made of their conduct, both by the Vizier and his acting miniſter, be taken into conſideration. If ever there was a period in the diſtreſs of any government, when neglect of duty or corruption in ſervants in high ſtation is ſuperiorly criminal, it is the preſent criſis of the Company's diſtreſſes; critical ſituation, with their few allies and numerous enemies!

(Signed)

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 18*th November* 1782.

READ the following letter from Mr. Richard Johnſon.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I am honoured with your commands through your ſecretary of this date, requiring information upon the nature of bills received from Mr. Middleton to the amount of L. K. Sa. 21,50,000.

Theſe bills are a part remittance of the balance of his accounts for the year 1190; the remainder of which he will bring with him, or will ſend down, upon receiving an anſwer to his letter of 4th September, mentioning his having cloſed the balances, and adviſing that the Nabob had depoſited the difference of balance claimed by the Board.

This remittance was negociated in the following manner:

The laſt collections of the balances of the aſſignments, annually granted to the honourable Company at Lucknow, uſually run two months into the new year, which time elapſes before the Aumils can adjuſt their old accounts at the capital, and be ready to depart with their new agreement; in order therefore to prevent the Nabob from appearing to have failed in his part of the execution of the treaty of Chunar, by which he was to liquidate his debt to the Company within that year, and to the performance of what this accuſtomary delay would have given a falſe appearance, this argument joining in its iſſue with an advantage to the honourable Company by a more ſpeedy payment, it was mutually agreed to raiſe the amount of the outſtanding balances from the Shrofts; they to grant bills or pauts, as wanted, for payments at Lucknow, or remittances to the preſidency, in exchange for,

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for, or in advance upon, the balances which thenceforward became payable to them; the Nabob allowing the Shrofts intereſt for their money, while they might be out of their money by the advance. The Shrofts, upon the faith of the Engliſh agency, accepted the propoſal, and accordingly iſſued the bills, and compleated the whole balance, as brought to account in Mr. Middleton's account, to the laſt day of Auguſt, now before the Board. The deed for the ſecurity of the Shrofts was ſealed by the Nabob, Miniſters, and Reſident.

The balances thus realized by this advance, it was again propoſed by the Shrofts, whether they would alſo make a farther advance in like manner for 25 lacks, which was the ſum claimed by the Board as a difference of balances in their accounts with the Nabob at your preſidency; the advance to be upon ſimilar terms with the negociation for the balances of the aſſignments. To this alſo they agreed pointedly, repeating that they were ſtimulated by their faith upon the Engliſh. The Nabob, Miniſters, and Reſident, ſigned this alſo, each party ſatisfied with the reſpective benefit ariſing from it. The ſecurity and funds for repayment of this latter was the reſumed Jaghires or alienated eſtates from the government lands, now reſumed; conſequently they were funds, the aſſignment of which in no ſhape curtailed the Nabob's former or uſual reſources, or interferred with thoſe lands upon which the aſſignments for the Company were granted; which is proved by the ſeparate grant of the honourable Company's aſſignments for the new year 1190, made at the ſame time, and iſſued with the orders for the payment to the Shrofts.

But leſt the preſent change of the preſidency ſhould alarm the Shrofts as any way connected with a diſapprobation of this loan, or advance upon the Nabob's reſources, it would be very uſeful, if the honourable Board approve of it, to expreſs their approbation to the Shrofts, through the uſual channel, the Governor-general, as an encouragement for ſo bold and uncommon a ſtretch of credit, unattempted and unexecuted before; and being the firſt, it well deſerves the moſt pointed and particular attention and encouragement from government. If they are well treated for this, they will always again be ready, when their funds may be wanted. Near fifty lacks was no ſmall exertion, and chiefly from one man, Gopal Dus; and if they are neglected, nothing can ever again be expected from them, or others, who may become informed of the circumſtances. From the nature of this buſineſs, I muſt hope the Board will pardon the intruſion of this recommendation to them. The ſupport of public credit

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must ever be a prime object; every effort towards establishing it encouraged, and every agent in it supported.

I have the honour to be,

Fort William, &c. &c. &c.
22d October 1782. R. Johnson.

Extract of Bengal General Consultations, 25th November 1782.

READ two letters, as follows, from Mr. Richard Johnson:

To James Peter Auriol, Esq. Secretary.

Sir,

I request you will, with the permission of the honourable the Governor-general and Council, be pleased to furnish me with a copy of the proceedings of the 7th of September last, together with such other record as may be connected with or inductive to the orders of that day respecting me.

Calcutta, I have the honour to be, &c.
20th Nov. 1782. (Signed) R. Johnson.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

In consequence of your orders of the 7th September, I arrived at the presidency on the 20th of October, and have, until now, waited in anxious hope of being honoured with your further commands; but the delay that has arisen unavoidably rendering my situation daily more irksome, I am now impelled to solicit a communication of the grounds and information upon which the honourable Board proceeded in their orders to Colonel Morgan, and the late president at Lucknow, respecting me, in September last, confidently trusting that I shall be well able to prove that the evident intentions of such parts of my conduct as may have brought upon me the disapprobation and displeasure of the Board, too severely expressed and heavily stamped upon me at that period, have been misrepresented.

If the early dispatch of the Lively should not admit of my reply being submitted to you in time to accompany the packet, and I hope you will be pleased to withhold the transmission of that part of your record which now stands alone against me, until it may be compleated for the next dispatch, with what I may be able to offer in my defence; or should I have requested that which would be irregular to grant, permit me then to ask that this letter may be joined to the proceedings under dispatch, with an additional paragraph to induce the Court of Directors to suspend any judgment to my detriment, until they

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they ſhall become furniſhed with my anſwer to the evidence upon which the Board have have ordered me to the preſidency.

Calcutta, I have the honour to be, &c.
20th Nov. 1782. (Signed) R. JOHNSON.

Agreed, that the ſecretary be permitted to give a copy of the proceedings of the 7th September to Mr. Johnſon.

Ordered, that the ſecretary do inform Mr. Johnſon that the papers contained in the proceedings of the 7th September do not ſpecify every ground of accuſation which has appeared againſt him; that, as ſoon as the leiſure of the Board will permit, he will be made acquainted with the charges againſt him, and allowed time to prepare his defence.

Agreed, that the Court of Directors be requeſted to ſuſpend their judgment on the caſe of Mr. R. Johnſon, until the proceedings ſhall be completely before them.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 12th June 1783.

THE ſecretary having, in conſequence of the reſolution of the Board of the 21ſt April laſt, received from the Governor-general the letters from Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon to him, in order to draw up the charges againſt thoſe gentlemen, and having accordingly prepared the charges in conformity to the Board's orders, and circulated them, with the letters above mentioned, they are now recorded as follows, and ordered to be immediately ſent to Meſſrs. Middleton and Johnſon reſpectively, that they may reply to them.

Charges againſt Mr. Nathaniel Middleton.

1ſt. For leaving unexecuted the ſeveral articles of the Governor-general's peremptory orders and inſtructions to you, dated at Chunar, the 20th September 1781, notwithſtanding thoſe inſtructions enjoined and commanded your ſtricteſt obedience, and were, both by the Vizier's formal agreement, on which they were founded, and by the tenor of them, intended to be carried into immediate effect, the object of them being the reduction of the Vizier's debt to the Company, which was in a conſtant ſtate of accumulation, and a conſciouſneſs of it ſeemed implied in your firſt letter from Lucknow, dated 4th October 1781, which contained the following words: "We have not yet been able to enter on any buſineſs of "moment, but you may reſt aſſured no time ſhall be un"neceſſarily conſumed;" and in your letter of the 12th October, where you write in the moſt preſſing terms for the

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the recall of the late temporary brigade, as being a part of the reform. Notwithstanding the Governor-general, on the 26th December following, finding that you had not to that time taken any steps towards accomplishing the treaty, in the points in which the Vizier had engaged the interference of our government, wrote to you, "that the "reformation of the Vizier's army, and the new settle-"ment of his revenues, were points of immediate con-"cern, and ought to be immediately concluded;" and added, "I now demand and require you most solemnly to "answer me, Are you confident in your own ability to "accomplish all these purposes, and the other points of "my instructions? If you reply that you are, I will "depart with a quiet and assured mind to the presidency, "but leave you a dreadful responsibility if you disappoint "me. If you tell me that you cannot rely on your "power, and the other means which you possess, for "performing these services, I will free you from the "charge: I will proceed myself to Lucknow, and I will "myself undertake them." To which you returned for answer, "I confidently reply, that I am fully compe-"tent to undertake and effect the completion of the "reform, upon the grounds stated in my answer to the "4th paragraph, and therefore again repeat that your "coming here is unnecessary." Your answer to the 4th paragraph admits, that you have erred in supposing that the reform was not meant to take place that year; and adds, that "the instant the Fyzabad business is finished, "which cannot take more than one fortnight from the "day of marching there, I shall take such steps, as the "means in my power will admit of, towards procuring "from the Nabob orders to each Aumil to pay his gross "revenues to the Ministers, and to receive the pay of "their troops, being reduced into regular mustered esta-"blishments, from the general treasury; and should he "refuse, I will issue my own, together with those of the "Ministers, to that purpose."—And further, that "these "three points complete the heads of your (the Governor-"general's) recommendation to the Nabob." Upon the strength of these assurances, the Governor-general desisted from his intention to visit Lucknow, as he hoped it would be unnecessary, and returned immediately to the presidency, leaving upon you the responsibility he had denounced.

2dly. For giving not only precipitate and unwarranted assurances as above quoted, but contradictory information of facts; for by your letters of the 11th February 1782 to the Governor-general, you say you inclose one from the Vizier, "informing him of his compliance with the

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"only points that remained unfiniſhed of his part of the "late agreements," &c. and add, "I have, in confirmation of the above-mentioned letter, received one "from the Miniſter, informing me of the accompliſhment of this reform, from which, with the total reſumption of all Jagheers which is now perfectly completed, I have every reaſon to hope for the moſt beneficial reſult, and that every part of this government "will now be in a ſtate of regularity and tranquility "ſcarcely ever before experienced."

"I alſo truſt, that you will now deem every wiſh, "expreſſed in your inſtructions to me, fully performed." —Again, in your letter to the Governor of the 10th March following, you ſay, "Having ſucceeded in the "impreſſion which I wiſhed to make on the Miniſters, "and the *reduction which has been made in the Nabob's* "*Mooteyana troops* ſtrengthening the ground I had argued "on, I availed myſelf of this opportunity to propoſe an "eſtabliſhment of the Company's troops."—In your letter to him of the 20th of that month, you ſay, "in "order to complete the check you have directed over the "Mooteyana and their payment, I have been neceſſitated "to appoint an Aumeen to receive and remit to me the "collections of Litaput, Ally Cawn's Jaidads, &c."— And in your letter of the 25th March 1782, addreſſed to the Governor-general, you defined the particular manner in which the ſeveral parts of your inſtructions had been carried into execution; but by your letter of the 17th September 1782, addreſſed to the Board, you only then declare, that you had ſtationed an agent of your own in each Aumildarry throughout thoſe provinces, as muſter-maſter of the Mooteyana troops, and ſay, that you "could "not with propriety have taken ſo deciſive a line in this "buſineſs at an earlier period, as the Nabob and the "Miniſters returning to the capitol ſo late as the month "of October found themſelves obliged to continue the "Aumils already in employ in their reſpective truſts, or "riſk by the new appointments at that advanced ſeaſon "the loſs of the whole collections on the Kierreeff or "firſt crop, amounting to two-fifths of the annual revenue, and the ſame circumſtances involved the neceſſity of leaving their agreements nearly in the form "in which they ſtood in the preceding year. Hence it "became difficult and dangerous to take any immediate "ſteps for the introduction of the Governor-general's "arrangements, beyond laying the foundations of a future reform, which was duly attended to; and theſe "I can now ſecurely build upon, as, by availing myſelf "of this *early period*, every Aumil is apprized of the

"terms

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" terms on which he embarks, and left without excuse " for any failure in his engagements."—And thus deferring till September 1782, what you thought it too late in the season to carry into execution in October 1781, although you had urgent and positive orders for doing it immediately, and although you had reported the actual performance thereof to have passed in your letters above quoted.

3dly. For these and other contradictions and inconsistencies, particularly pointed out to you in the Governor-general's letters, dated 1st and 3d of January 1782.

4th. For not reporting to the Governor general, or to the Board, the progress which you had made from time to time in your endeavours to comply with his instructions; and if you met with any impediments in the execution of them, for omitting to state those impediments, and to apply for fresh orders upon them.

5th. For disobedience to the Governor-general's peremptory orders of the 26th December 1781, contained in the following words:—" I approve the Nabob's resolution to deprive the Begums of the ill-employed " treasures. In both services it must be *your care* to " prevent an abuse of the power given to those that are " employed in them. *You yourself* ought to be personally " present—*You must not allow any negociations or forbearance*, but must prosecute both services until the " Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob," &c.—Whereas, by a letter from Major Naylor to the Governor-general, dated at camp Killa Fyzabad, 14th January 1782, it is declared as follows:—" *After my arrival, a couple of* " *days passed in negociation, but without effect*, and the " party in the town collecting and hourly gaining strength; " at length, after mature deliberation, it was resolved " that I should, with my regiment and four guns, storm " the town; which I effected the 12th in the morning." —And by this disobedience of the order which forbad any negociation or forbearance, you allowed time for opposition, which evidently had been meditated, to take its full effect, and for the concealment of the wealth which was in the Begums' possession, as is acknowledged by your letter of the 18th January to the Governor-general. Your letter of the 5th February is not a sufficient exculpation from this charge, as the forbearance alluded to was before the attack of the Killa, and not " after the Begums were to be considered as entirely at " the mercy of the Nabob," which is the time it alludes to.—It might be good policy, after they were so reduced, to observe a temporizing conduct, because the treasures was then concealed, and none but the accessaries to its con-

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concealment were acquainted with the places where it was deposited.

6th. For neglecting to realize the whole of the Vizier's debt to the Company at the end of the year 1189, Fussulle, notwithstanding your repeated assurances that it should be completely liquidated by that time, and in particular the assurances contained in your letter to the Governor-general, dated 6th December 1781, "that from the Begums alone you had no doubt of the complete liquidation of the Company's balance."

7th. For neglecting to secure the means of liquidating this debt, by only taking Tunkaws or assignments upon the country for the sum of rupees 76,37,458, when you must have known that the demand on the Vizier for that year (1189) would amount to more than double that sum.

8th. For omitting, according to annual custom, and the positive orders of the Board, to send down to them a regular account of the demands upon the Vizier for the year 1189, and of the assignments taken to satisfy those demands; and for accepting the Assignments without the authority of the Board.

9th. For omitting to take any notice of the additional balance of rupees 26,48,571. 3. 8. stated by the Accountant-general to be due from the Vizier to the Company on the 30th April 1780, and not charged to him by the Resident, although such a formal intimation of it from the Accountant-general, as you received, was at least a sufficient authority to have induced you to apply for the Board's orders concerning it, had you been otherwise dubious about admitting it; and although it arose from positive charges and demands upon the Vizier, which ought to have been carried immediately to his account, and could not be in the least affected by any counter claims of the Vizier; which if allowed to be just, he might equally receive credit for, in account, at any future time after they had been so allowed.

10th. For anticipating the revenues of the Vizier's country, and burthening them with an enormous load of interest, by mortgaging assignments upon them to the Shroffs, at the usury of 2 per cent. per mensem, in order to accomplish a remittance of the above additional balance to the presidency, by the means of their bills, within the year 1189, after having omitted to include the said balance in the regular assignments.

11th. For loading the Vizier's revenues in like manner with the further usurious charge of 2 per cent. per mensem, in order to anticipate the liquidation of the excess of disbursements beyond the amount which you had received

received assignments for at the beginning of the year 1189, by mortgaging to the Shroffs the balances of the assignments uncollected at the end of the said year 1189.

12th. For endeavouring to conceal from us the knowledge of the rebellion of Almas Ally Cawn, the Vizier's principal renter, by studiously avoiding the mention of his disobedience and flight, which from the treasures and forces he carried with him, threatened to involve the Vizier's country in a state of warfare.

13th. For afterwards pursuing measures to encrease the power of Almas Ally Cawn (already too formidable for a subject) by procuring for him, on his return to Lucknow, a grant of additional districts, on the condition of his becoming bound to the Shroffs for the payment of their Tunkaws or assignments in their favour, and thereby releasing your own security to them for the liquidation of those Tunkaws.

14. For neglecting to advise us of the disturbance at Daranagur, when two of the Vizier's battalions were attacked and dispersed by a body of Fyzoola Cawn's horse; and the consequences might have been more serious from this effect, although it appears to have proceeded from a private fray, and was unauthorized and unknown by Fyzoola Cawn.

15th. For neglecting on every other occasion of disaffection or disturbance in the Vizier's Aumils, to report them to the Board, although considerable detachments were made from the Brigade to quell such disturbances, by your own requisition, or that of your assistant, Mr. Richard Johnson.

16th. For concealing from us a knowledge of the state of the Vizier's dominions, and when you knew them to be under such precarious dependance as to require the constant awe of a military force to prevent a civil war, from the machinations of rebellious Zemindars; when you knew likewise that we were surrounded by enemies (the peace with the Marattas not having then been ratified at Poona); for endeavouring at such a crisis to increase the number of our enemies, and consequently our difficulties, by recommending an expedition, in concert with the Vizier, to deprive Fyzoola Cawn of his Zemindarry; although you acknowledge, in the same letter, "that the possessions of Fyzoola Cawn are so situated, "that there is no possibility of cutting off his retreat, "whenever he might choose to attempt it"—And again, that "there can be no doubt but Zabit-a-Cawn, with "whom he is closely connected, and keeps up a con-"stant intercourse, would seize any opening which might

"yield him the faintest hopes of recovering his heredi-"
"tary possessions in Rohilcund."

Charges against Mr. Richard Johnson.

1st. For assuming an unlicensed authority in prejudice of the Vizier's government; and interfering in the management of his country, in opposition to his will, and to the endeavours and remonstrances of his minister. The particular instances alledged are, "by appointing "Aumils of your own choice, and in such a manner "that no one either attended the presence of the Nabob, "or visited his minister."

2dly. "By exacting Sunnuds, and orders from the "presence, at your own pleasure, and issuing the Sun-"nuds on your own part, as if his duty had been held "independent of the Vizier's authority."

3dly. For sending repeatedly to the Vizier, and to his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, to advise them against transferring the ten lacks of rupees, intended as a present to the Governor-general, to the Company's account, as it would be a precedent for further demands, which, if the Vizier did not resist in the first instance, this government would never cease to harrass him for money.

4thly. For neglect of duty, in not having communicated to this government any measures which the state of affairs in the Vizier's country might render it necessary for you to adopt, if such necessity prevailed.

5thly. For further neglect of duty, in not having written a single letter to this government during the absence of Mr. Middleton from his station at Lucknow, to report the state of the upper provinces, or of the Vizier's dominions, or to mention any one occurrence of those parts, notwithstanding the important events which took place during that interval from the contentions which ensued upon the decease of Nudziff Cawn, and the disturbances in the Vizier's country from the defection and flight of Almas Ally Cawn, one of his principal Zemindars, with a considerable treasure and force; from the refractoriness and disobedience of other Zemindars, and from other causes, which the Board have since been informed of; and for not mentioning the disaster which happened to two battalions of the Vizier's troops at Daranagur; all which the Board obtained no knowledge of but from private information.

6thly. For applying on different occasions to Colonel Morgan, commanding the brigade at Cawnpore, for military aid to enforce the orders of government, and quell disturbances in different parts of the Vizier's dominions, without

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without any reference, or even information, given to the Board of ſuch applications, or the occaſion for them.

7th. But particularly for detaching, by the means of your application to the commanding officer at Cawnpore, one regiment from that brigade, to enforce the Vizier's demands upon the Nabob of Furruckabad, notwithſtanding the poſitive prohibition of any interference from the Reſident in the Vizier's claims upon that Nabob, and notwithſtanding the further poſitive prohibition of detachments being required from the brigade, except in caſes of extreme neceſſity; and on all theſe important occaſions, for neglecting to make any communications to this Board.

To Mr. Middleton.

Chunar, 21ſt November 1781.

I KNOW not how to account for the little attention which you ſhew to my orders, eſpecially on a point which you know to be the moſt important to my reputation. Before you left this place, I gave you a liſt of papers which I ſhould want both to explain and juſtify the engagements which I had concluded with the Nabob Vizier, and you promiſed to ſend them on your arrival at Lucknow. You obliged me to write preſſingly, and I believe repeatedly for them. You then ſent me accounts, which, had you but looked at their titles, you would have known could be of no uſe, being the accounts of eſtabliſhments, not of actual expenditures, and of eſtabliſhments of the year 1778, which are either obſolete or much changed; and the account which I moſt wanted you have not ſent, which was the account of the Nabob's preſent debt to the Company. I have been prevented by your neglect of me from ſending to the Board the report of this tranſaction, which of courſe will go home only in private, and of courſe not the moſt favourable accounts of it.

I now once more deſire that you will inſtantly ſend me the following accounts:

1. An account of the ſums due to the end of the laſt month of the Fuſſulee computation from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, on account of each ſeparate charge.

2. An account of the diſburſements made and due for the laſt Fuſſulee year for every different department paid by Mr. Wombwell, viz. The temporary brigade, Major Martin's arſenal, Colonel Hannay's corps, body guard, penſions and ſalaries, and the actual expence of Captain Oſborne's corps for the laſt year of his command.

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To these I must add another equally necessary with the foregoing, which I desire you to give me, as you can, but not to delay the foregoing for it; viz. An account of the nominal value of each Jagheer; and opposed to it, its real produce or its estimated value.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir,

IT is with the greatest concern that I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st, as you appear to be much hurt at the neglect you accuse me with towards you.

I really thought that I had sent you every account which you had asked me for at Chunar. The establishments of the troops under British officers which I transmitted, although made, as you observe, in the year 1778, are the same by which the payments are at this moment made, excepting any extra disbursement and contingency which cannot be provided for, and which but rarely occur in the service.

And the revenue accounts were of the very last year that had then been drawn out. The accounts of the new year are not yet settled or delivered in; and what have been transcribed has been since my sending the accounts to you.

However, the accounts, as you now desire them, are transcribing, and shall be sent you without a moment's loss of time. The receipts and disbursements of the last year will not be quite complete, as the accounts of Gurruchpore and Furruckabad have not yet been closed.

Sir Elijah Impey leaves us on Wednesday morning, after which, I dare venture to assure you, you will have much less cause to tax me with want of punctuality. I have and must necessarily continue to be constant in my personal attendance upon him, which I trust you will admit as some excuse for me.

I am, &c.

Lucknow, NATH. MIDDLETON.
25th Nov. 1781.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, the 2d Dec. 1781.

I had yesterday the honour of informing you of the message I sent to the Nabob through the minister, respecting the Jagheers, to which his excellency this morning

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ing returned me a reply, purporting that if the measure proposed was intended to procure the payment of his balance due to the Company, he could better and more expeditiously effect that object, by taking from his mother what she is very able to spare, and what he has an undoubted right, as he conceives, to exact from her. The present debt to the Company, as he with truth observes, is a great part handed down from his father; and the funds from which he might have been enabled to liquidate it, it is notorious, were withheld from him by the Begum, on the late Nabob's death. That according to the laws of the Koran, and the invariable custom of the country, he is justly entitled to the whole estate and treasures of his father, and could legally demand their being put in his possession; but that the sum he desires to take from his mother (about 60 lacks) bears no sort of proportion to the immense wealth which fell into her hands on the death of his father, nor would it bear at all hard upon her, as he knows how much her treasures exceed that sum. All therefore that he asks, is not to be interrupted in recovering a part of his hereditary right, by which he will be enabled to discharge immediately the whole of his debt to the Company.

This, my dear Sir, is a flattering proposition; and as to the point of right, admitting it to be less clear and defined than the Nabob chuses to consider it, you may possibly be of opinion that the conduct of the Begums, on the late disturbances at Benares, as set forth in the several testimonies laid before you, has forfeited any claim they might originally have had to the protection and mediation of the Company; and further, that it may not be political or yet perfectly safe to trust them any longer with such powerful means of promoting an opposition to our interests.

For my own part I am so well persuaded of the disaffection of the Begums, particularly the present Nabob's mother, to our cause, and of their promptitude to unite in any measure to distress us, that I could very easily reconcile it to my conscience to assist the Nabob, instead of obstructing him, in wresting from them every benefit they enjoy beyond a decent maintenance; however, this is only my own opinion, and by no means meant to influence yours. The Nabob writes you himself on this subject, and you have his letter inclosed. Neither he nor I expect that you should give a formal sanction to the measure proposed: It will be sufficient that you but hint your opinion upon it, and enable me to inform his Excellency whether you would or would not oppose his design. Let me therefore entreat you, my dear Sir, to favour me

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with a line by the return of the Dauk; and if your ſentiments ſhould happen to accord with my own, I doubt not but I ſhould be able to congratulate you, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, upon the remittance of a handſome ſum to the preſidency.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

P. S. Whatever may be your reſolution upon the ſubject of this letter, it will be expedient to keep it ſecret. The reſumption of the Jagheers it is neceſſary to ſuſpend, until I have your ſentiments on this letter.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 6th Dec. 1781.

I UNDERSTAND, from a letter I have received from Sir Elijah Impey, that you are not yet ſatisfied with the ſtatement tranſmiteed to you of the Nabob's debt to the Company, which induces me to trouble you with a few further remarks.

In the Nabob's account current, dated and forwarded to you the 30th ultimo, I purpoſely particularized, as far as my judgment could point out, any diviſion or detail in it. The ſum of rupees, 32,78,613. 11. after deducting 10,000 rupees for an error, was the balance of the year 1187, agreeably to Mr. Purling's account, ariſing from ſhort payments of the claims made upon the Nabob for that year, and occaſioned by the total collections of the country not having proved adequate to the Nabob's own wants and our annual claims; and upon theſe conſiderations I found myſelf obliged, upon my adjuſtment with his Excellency for the year 1188, to take a bond for that amount, of which I duly informed the honourable Board. The army donation, rupees 10,50,000, was under the ſame circumſtances, as the unavoidable claims for the immediate pay of the eſtabliſhed troops, and other indiſpenſable diſburſements, fully engroſſed all the funds that could be ſet apart from the Nabob's abſolute wants, after deducting the uſual charges of collection. For this, therefore, I was obliged to accept a bond, the honourable Board being informed of it, and ſanctifying it by their concurrence. Both theſe bonds I ſeparately particularized at the foot of the Nabob's account for 1188, and added the actual balance of rupees 12,09,876. 9. 8. for which new aſſignments were receiving.

Believe me, my dear Sir, if this explanation does not anſwer your purpoſe, it is not owing to the want of inclination to take any pains to afford you complete ſatisfaction,

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faction, but to my ignorance of any clearer mode of ftating it, or any other elucidation of which the account is fufceptible; I muft therefore entreat you will do me the favour to inform me, what queftion, unanfwered by my explanation, can be afked upon it, and I will inftantly do my utmoft to make it more clear and explicit.

I underftand alfo from Sir Elijah's letter, "that you "approve of a fubfidy from Fayzula Cawn, and the "troops to be raifed upon it to be ftationed at Cawnpore "or Allahabad, but not higher."

The troops Fayzula Cawn offered through Mr. Johnfon to hold in readinefs upon his interpretation of the treaty, were 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 infantry. If money inftead of thefe be required, he will probably propofe his own rates of paying them, which are from 14 to 17 rupees per month for each horfeman, with his arms, accoutrements, and horfe, and 4 rupees each for the infantry; which would only amount together to little above 4 lacks per annum—fay 5 lacks, including Oadadars or officers; a fum which I imagine you would confider fcarcely worth the Company's acceptance, and at the rates of our own fervice, the fame number of troops would exceed twelve lacks, which I fuppofe is confiderably beyond what he will voluntarily pay. However, if it is your wifh that the claim fhould be made, I am ready to take it up, and you may be affured nothing within my power fhall be left undone to carry it through. The tofeer or excefs of Fayzula Cawn's collections above the valuation of his grant, is faid to be equal to the laft-mentioned fum. I wait only your orders to proceed in this bufinefs.

Finding the Nabob wavering in his determination about the refumption of the Jagheers, I this day, in prefence of, and with the minifter's concurrence, ordered the neceffary Perwannahs to be written to the feveral Aumils for that purpofe, and it was my firm refolution to have difpatched them this evening, with proper people to fee them punctually and implicitly carried into execution; but before they were all tranfcribed, I received a meffage from the Nabob, who had been informed by the minifter of the refolution I had taken, intreating that I would withhold the Perwannahs until to-morrow morning, when he would attend me, and afford me fatisfaction on this point. As the lofs of a few hours in the difpatch of the Perwannahs appeared of little moment, and as it is poffible the Nabob, feeing that the bufinefs will at all events be done, may make it an act of his own, I have confented to indulge him in his requeft; but, be the refult of our interview whatever it may, nothing fhall prevent the orders being iffued to-morrow, either by him or myfelf, with the con-

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currence of the ministers. Your pleasure respecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah; and the measure heretofore proposed will soon follow the resumption of the Jagbeers. From both, or indeed from the former alone, I have no doubt of the complete liquidation of the Company's balance.

I am, &c.
NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 7th Dec. 1781.

I HAD the honour to address you yesterday, informing you of the steps I had taken in regard to the resumption of the Jagheers. This morning the Vizier came to me according to his agreement, but seemingly without any intention or desire to yield me satisfaction on the subject under discussion; for after a great deal of conversation, consisting on his part of trifling evasion and puerile excuses for withholding his assent to the measure, though at the same time professing the most implicit submission to your wishes, I found myself without any other resource than the one of employing that exclusive authority with which I consider your instructions to vest me: I therefore declared to the Nabob, in presence of the minister and Mr. Johnson, who I desired might bear witness of the conversation, that I construed his rejection of the measure proposed as a breach of his solemn promise to you, and an unwillingness to yield that assistance which was evidently in his power towards liquidating his heavy accumulating debt to the Company, and that I must in consequence determine, in my own justification, to issue immediately the Perwannahs, which had only been withheld in the sanguine hope that he would be prevailed upon to make that his own act, which nothing but the most urgent necessity could force me to make mine. He left me without any reply, but afterwards sent for his minister, and authorized him to give me hopes that my requisition would be complied with; on which I expressed my satisfaction, but declared that I could admit of no further delays, and unless I received his Excellency's formal acquiescence before the evening, I should then most assuredly issue my Perwannahs; which I have accordingly done, not having had any assurances from his Excellency that could justify a further suspension. I shall, as soon as possible, inform you of the effect of the Perwannahs, which, in many parts, I am apprehensive it will be found necessary to enforce with military aid; I am not, however, entirely without hopes that the Nabob, when he

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he sees the inefficacy of further opposition, may alter his conduct, and prevent the confusion and disagreeable consequences which would be too likely to result from the prosecution of a measure of such importance, without his concurrence. His Excellency talks of going to Fayzabad, for the purpose heretofore mentioned, in three or four days: I wish he may be serious in this intention, and you may rest assured I shall spare no pains to keep him to it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 9th Dec. 1781.

I HAD the honour to address you on the 7th instant, informing you of the conversation which had passed between the Nabob and me on the subject of resuming the Jaghiers, and the step I had taken in consequence.—His Excellency appeared to be very much hurt and incensed at the measure, and loudly complains of the treachery of his ministers; first, in giving you any hopes that such a measure would be adopted; and, secondly, in their promising me their whole support in carrying it through: But, as I apprehend, rather than suffer it to appear that the point had been carried in opposition to his will, he at length yielded a nominal acquiescence, and has this day issued his own Perwannahs to that effect; declaring however, at the same time, both to me and his ministers, that it is an act of compulsion.—I hope to be able, in a few days, in consequence of this measure, to transmit you an account of the actual value and produce of the Jaghiers, opposed to the nominal amount at which they stand rated on the books of the Sircar.

I have the pleasure to inform you, the Nabob still adheres to his resolution of proceeding immediately to Fyzabad, for the purposes already mentioned to you, and will, I believe, depart in three days from this date. I entertain the most flattering and sanguine expectations from his journey; and we shall not be kept long in suspense concerning the result, as he is convinced of the danger and impropriety of delay.

Sir Elijah Impey has signified to me your final commands respecting the Nabob of Furruckabad, and Ishmael Beg; in both which instances rest assured they shall be implicitly obeyed. I wait only the arrival of Suftulla Cawn, whom Sir Elijah informed me you had dispatched to me, to withdraw every shadow of interference in the government of Furruckabad. Ismael Beg's accounts with the

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the Nabob shall be investigated in the manner you direct, and full information transmitted you the moment I can spare time from the two important objects to which you have directed my first attention.

Under this date I have dispatched to you, at the Nabob's desire, two Elephants, with an Ambarry and Howdah, four Horses, a Palenquin, a Maulah Seerpeach, and Caulgah, appertaining to the dress, &c. you did him the honour to accept at Chunar.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

To Mr. Middleton.

Sir, Benares, 26th December 1781.

MY mind has been for some days suspended between two opposite impulses; one arising from the necessity of my return to Calcutta; the other from the apprehension of my presence being more necessary and more urgently wanted at Lucknow. Your answer to this shall decide my choice.

I have waited thus long in the hopes of hearing that some progress had been made in the execution of the plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September last. I do not find that any step towards it has been yet taken, though three months are elapsed, and little more than that period did appear to me requisite to have accomplished the most essential parts of it, and to have brought the whole into train. This tardiness, and the opposition prepared to the only decided act yet undertaken, have a bad appearance. I approve the Nabob's resolutions to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed treasures. In both services it must be your care to prevent an abuse of the powers given to those that are employed in them. You yourself ought to be personally present. You must not allow any negociations or forbearance, but must prosecute both services until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob, their Jaghires in the quiet possession of his Aumils, and their wealth in such charge as may secure it against private embezzlement. You will have a force more than sufficient to effect both these purposes.

The reformation of his army, and the new settlement of his revenues, are also points of immediate concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any thing been done in either?

I now demand and require you most solemnly to answer me. Are you confident in your own ability to accomplish all these purposes, and the other points of my instructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with

with a quiet and assured mind to the presidency, but leave you a dreadful responsibility if you disappoint me. If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your * power, and

. . . .

the other means which you possess, for performing these services, I will free you from the charge; I will proceed myself to Lucknow, and I will myself undertake them; and in that case I desire that you will immediately order bearers to be stationed, for myself and two other gentlemen, between Lucknow and Illahabad; and I will set out from hence in three days after the receipt of your letter.

I am sorry that I am under the necessity of writing in this pressing manner; I trust implicitly to your integrity: I am certain of your attachment to myself, and I know that your capacity is equal to any service; but I must express my doubts of your firmness and activity, and above all, of your recollection of my instructions, and of their importance. My conduct in the late arragements will be arraigned with all the rancor of disappointed rapacity, and my reputation and influence will suffer a mortal wound from the failure of them. They have already failed in a degree, since no part of them has yet taken place, but the removal of our forces from the Douab and Rohilcund, and of the British officers and pensioners from the service of the Nabob; and the expences of the former thrown, without any compensation, on the Company.

I expect a supply of money equal to the discharge of all the Nabob's arrears, and am much disappointed and mortified that I am not now able to return with it.

Give me an immediate answer to the question which I have herein proposed, that I may lose no more time in fruitless inaction. I am, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Resident.

I HAVE received the Governor's letter, directing me to withdraw my Naib from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, leaving the Bundebust to be settled by him; I have accordingly been waiting for a responsible person on that part of Mozuffer Jung, to attend and account with you for the Company's assignments, that I might then recall my servant from thence, and after that address the Governor respecting my humiliation. Hitherto no one from Mozuffer Jung has appeared for that purpose. Mozuffer Jung, on receipt of the Governor's letter, sent a copy of it to Almas Ally Khan, which I now enclose you. It being my wish to give satisfaction in all respects to the Governor, I relinquish all interference with Mozuffer

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Jung's dominions. The particulars respecting Mozuffer Jung, from the beginning, are these:—On the death of Ahmud Khan, the brothers and family of Mozuffer Jung attempted to deprive him of the Musnud, when my father sent his troops to support him, who engaged with the Patans of Mhow, &c. who were in opposition, and established Mozuffer Jung in his accession. Since this, I have protected him against his brothers, Meerbhaun Khan, &c. Household slaves, allotting, at my own charge, one thousand troops and artillery for his guard; the truth of which enquire of others: you will know in what manner he has made good, during these five years, the tribute promised for these services. From the beginning, when every thing was in his own power, by his indolence, and the knavery of his servants, nothing was received; I therefore was reduced to the necessity of appointing a responsible man; and in the same manner as I settled the collections of my own country, causing engagements or bonds to be written by my Aumils for the Company's assignments, and payment of the same, to you, so Mozuffer Jung took engagements on bonds from his Aumils, to secure the payment of the Company's assignments, to him; but from the ignorance of Mozuffer Jung, and knavery of his servants, the assignments have not been paid, which will appear from the ballance accumulated during the collectorship of Mr. Shee. Thus circumstanced, I appointed Almas Ally Khan, that having adjusted every matter respecting Mozuffer Jung to his satisfaction, he might affectually settle the Bundebust of the country.—Now the Governor writes me, not to have any one there—His pleasure is the line of my conduct—There is due to me from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, to the end of the year rupees 1,58,456;—this I will assign to the Company towards the payment of my debt to them, which, if satisfactory to be received from Mozuffer Jung, you will give me credit for the same in part of payment of the Company's claim on me, and I shall recall my servant from thence, not meaning to offer any excuse. This being settled, I shall address to the Governor on the subject of my present and future humiliation. If I hesitate, the Governor may deem it an opposition to his will: if I recall my Aumil, it will be considered by Mozuffer Jung as a relinquishment of my claim. Do you therefore, my friend, take immediate satisfactory steps for the recovery of the debt, that I may withdraw my Aumil in obedience to the Governor's orders. It is notorious that his friendship and connexion with me exceeds that of any other prince of Hindostan; and in return for which, my life and fortune are devoted to him. The particular and declared object of my application for the removal of

Mr.

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Mr. Shee, was to obtain the uncontrouled management of Furruckabad, which was granted me accordingly, and made an article of my laſt agreement. What has led the Governor to alter his ſentiments on this point, I am at a loſs to conceive. My humiliation will reach Dehly. When you ſhall have taken the neceſſary ſteps for ſecuring payment of the claims from thence, let me know, and I will recall the Aumil, and then I will write the Governor. — My elevation or diſgrace remain in his breaſt.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 28th Dec. 1781.

I do myſelf the honour to incloſe you letters from Koman and Goſcman Sing, brought to me by one of my ſervants, who was in thoſe quarters. They conceive, or affect to conceive, that you have ſome deſigns upon Bundeelcund, and volunteer themſelves to act in conjunction, offering to join with a large body of cavalry, in hopes of benefiting by any ſuch expedition, or at leaſt ſaving their own ſhares of that country: I do not know whether you will think them deſerving of any anſwer.

Your letter of the 24th is juſt arrived, ordering the temporary brigade to be again put on the Vizier's liſt, which the late treaty had juſt eaſed him of. Nothing leſs than blows can effect this; for he is not even able to pay off the arrears ſtill due to it for the laſt year, which, with the 2½ months ſtipulated by the treaty, amount to nine lacks, by Mr. Day's ſtatement. Upwards of twelve lacks have been paid to Mr. Wombwell, beſides remittances made to the ſecond brigade and Colonel Muir, and ſcarce ſix lacks have yet been collected: a hard ſtrain of private credit alone has made theſe large extra payments, and total ruin muſt inevitably be the conſequence of any interruption in the recovery of the money advanced. However, this is merely a private conſideration, and therefore cannot weigh in public meaſures; but in a public light, the troops being all in arrears, and no poſſibility of preſent payment, ſo large a body aſſembled here, without any means in hand to check or controul them, nothing but diſorder could follow. As one proof that the Nabob is as badly off for funds as we are, I may inform you that his cavalry roſe this day upon him, and went all armed to the palace, to demand from 13 to 18 months arrears due to them; and with great difficulty perſuaded to retire, which was probable more effected by a body of troops getting under arms to go againſt them, than any other conſideration. Without troubling you with detail of arguments, I may venture to pledge myſelf to you, that the additional demand you propoſe making cannot

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this year be obtained without a total reform of his government, which, if brought about by a campaign against him (by which alone it can be done) would, at the same time, stop at once all resources of collections; so that, admitting success, our situation, in point of finance, would be worse than before. As I feel confident of your full credit to this assertion, I shall add nothing further upon the subject, excepting, that the troops hitherto called for by the Vizier have been solicited under that article of the late treaty which authorizes him to remove the subsidiary brigade where he pleases, with the concurrence of the Resident; which power is still more fully explained in the letter of instructions:—Both papers can only allude to the troops which they stipulate to remain within the Vizier's dominions. Whenever you no longer may chuse to permit his detaching the brigade, he must then of course conduct his measures by his own Sebundy, or be driven to make new proposals from himself for the aid and pay of our regiments.

As I have made use of the name of the temporary brigade in the first part of my letter, it may be necessary to remind you that one additional regiment is already paid by the Nabob, to which add 4 regiments, and a train of artillery, now proposed, makes ten battalions of 500 men each, which is equal to seven battalions of 780 men, which formed the temporary brigade, as stipulated to be paid by the Nabob.

I sincerely hope, though I scarcely expect, to avoid displeasing you by the freedom of this representation. But, as it is impossible that you should possess facts without their being plainly stated, and as you cannot act upon any other grounds while aiming, as I know you do, to do that which is best, I must run the risque, or serve you unfaithfully, which would contradict what I shall ever endeavour to prove, that I am, upon all occasions, your truly devoted,

&c. &c.

R. JOHNSON.

To the honourable Warren Hastings, Governor-general, &c. &c.
Benaras.

30th December 1781.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor-general, &c. &c.

Sir,

THE solemn call you have made upon me, in your commands of the 26th instant, with which I was honoured yesterday, demands from me the most unreserved and decided

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cided reply; and that I might not advance any thing hastily, I took all yesterday to deliberate upon my reply: for the sake of perspicuity, I have thought it best to recapitulate the several paragraphs of your letter, and arrange my answers to them respectively in the same order.

1st. My mind has been for some days suspended between two opposite impulses; one arising from the necessity of my return to Calcutta, the other from the apprehension of my presence being more immediately and more urgently wanted at Lucknow; your answer to this shall decide my choice.

To this paragraph I freely answer, that your presence is in no shape necessary here, but, on the contrary, could not fail of being of considerable retardment to the collections; because in these countries the motions of governors are looked upon to imply at intended exertions, and with them great changes; consequently all agents in public stations, from the highest to the meanest, put an immediate stop to all their avocations, and gaze motionless for the result. This is the height of the Khereiff collection, and any impediments now thrown in the way loses the produce of the crop. The enclosed statement shews what I have received, and what I have disbursed; it will at first sight evince the importance of realizing every immediate resource. The current disbursements of the 2d brigade have not been made good, and the arrears due from the Nabob to the late temporary brigade and cavalry, agreeably to stipulation, have not yet been liquidated.

2d. I have waited thus long, in hopes of hearing that some progress has been made in the execution of the plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September last; I do not find that any step towards it has yet been

In reply to the second paragraph, I beg leave to refer you to my former letters, stating the turbulent state of the country. Three months is a period in which the changes you allude to probably might have been ef-

fected

taken, though three months are elapsed, and little more than that period did appear to me requisite to have accomplished the most essential parts of it, and to have brought the whole into train. This tardiness, and the opposition prepared to the only decided act yet undertaken, have a bad appearance.

fected in times of perfect tranquility; but when all the districts across the Gogra were in arms, and all the Jagheerdars (a very numerous and powerful body) were very little short of the same state in every district, and for the regulating and reduction of whom the Aumils were principally to be applied to—could a general change or attack upon those Aumils with ease have been undertaken? I think not; but I put this argument of the practicability or impracticability out of the question, as it was not that consideration which prevented me from enforcing the measures recommended by you to the Nabob in the treaty;—the fact is this: I did not understand, at the period of executing the agreement between you and the Vizier, that your intention was, that the whole of the reform proposed was in its fullest extent to take place *this* year, nor indeed at all, if the Compan'ys debt became liquidated; I conceive your interference in the Nabob's government tended solely to establish the means of the most speedy payment possible of the Company's debt; and that whenever this should be accomplished, every shadow of interference was to be desisted from, which I stated to the Nabob and the ministers—and I believe upon the faith of that assurance principally was his Excellency's acquiescence obtained. For the prosecution of

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these measures, I looked to the occasional assistance of the regiments of the subsidiary brigade, as permitted in the treaty, and your subsequent instructions, and intended employing the Aumils and their Sebundy in the first instance for the reduction of the Jagheerdars, that I might not have the whole country to attack at once. This mode of proceeding threatened no interruption to the collections, but an immediate increase of means in hand to defray the charges of the troops, and without which previous point even our own army must be useless. The measure of resuming the Jagheers involved many and some very powerful interests, subject to such odium, from the disappointment of the parties, deprived of their means of subsistence, and in such extensive dominions, under a government so irregular in its constitution, and so shaken as this is, it could not be effectually accomplished in a day.—However, it is now effected nearly throughout with the Nabob's sanction (which at the point of execution there was the most alarming difficulty to obtain) and in a very few days I trust it will be completely enforced; and, bad as the appearance of opposition may be, I trust to be able to execute the whole reform, without delay, upon the grounds I shall state in my answer to your paragraphs successively.

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3d. I approve the Nabob's resolution to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed treasures. In both services it must be your care to prevent an abuse of the powers given to those that are employed in them. You yourself ought to be personally present. —You must not allow any negociation or forbearance, but must prosecute both services until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers in the quiet possession of his Aumils, and their wealth in such charge as may secure it against private embezzlement.—You will have a force more than sufficient to effect both these purposes.

To the 3d paragraph I shall only say, that I march to-morrow with the Nabob to enforce both the services you exact in it; and if I succeed, as I have the strongest reasons to hope, in obtaining large ready money resources towards liquidating the arrears to the troops, which form a large proportion of the debt to the Company, I have not a doubt of accomplishing every end you have now declared you look to the instant performance of; but as troops alone can do it, their assistance cannot be depended upon without previous pay, or the possession of certain means in hand for that purpose; as it follows, that an immediate stop to all collections must ensue from any general military exertion.

4th. The reformation of his army, and the new settlement of his revenues, are also points of immediate concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any thing been done in either?

To the 4th I answer, that nothing has been done, for the reasons assigned in my answer to the second paragraph. If I erred in the judgment I had formed of your intentions, I can say no more, as it is passed, than that the instant the Fyzabad business is finished successfully, which cannot take more than one fortnight from the day of marching there, I shall take such steps as the means in my power will admit of towards procuring from the Nabob the orders to each Aumil to pay his gross revenues to the Ministers, and to receive the pay of their troops, being reduced into regular mustered establishments, from

5th. I now demand, and require you most solemnly to answer me: Are you confident in your own ability to accomplish all these purposes, and the other points of my instructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and assured mind to the presidency, but leave you a dreadful responsibility if you disappoint me.——If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your power, and the other means which you possess, for performing these services, I will free you from the charge, I will proceed myself to Lucknow, and I will myself undertake them; and in that

from the general treasury; and should he refuse, I will issue my own, together with those of the ministers to that purpose, as I did in a former instance when the Nabob refused his Perwannahs for the resumption of the Jagheers; and shall further enforce the execution against each disobeying Aumil, by marching against him, and displacing him. These three points complete the heads of your recommendations to the Nabob, the Fourth Article, which was the separation and limitation of his own disbursements to the medium of his receipts for the last three years, having already taken place; and then no assignments will remain upon the country, but those of the Company, as expressed in the treaty.

To the 5th I confidently reply, That I am fully competent to undertake and effect the completion of the reform, upon the grounds stated in my answer to the 4th paragraph; and therefore again repeat, that your coming here is unnecessary; and that, as far as regards the duties of my station towards the execution of your orders, you may depart, in conviction that neither activity or firmness shall be wanting in the exertion of every means within my power: And those means I can foresee no deficiency in, upon the permission I have of calling upon Colonel Morgan for aid,

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case, I desire that you will immediately order Benares to be stationed for myself and two other gentlemen, between Lucknow and Illahabad, and I will set out from hence in three days after the receipt of your letters.

6th. I am sorry that I am under the necessity of writing in this pressing manner. I trust implicitly to your integrity, I am certain of your attachment to myself, and I know that your capacity is equal to any service; but I must express my doubts of your firmness and activity, and above all of your recollection of my instructions, and of their importance.

7th. My conduct in the late arrangements will be arraigned with all the rancor of disappointment, rapacity, and my reputation and influence will suffer a mortal wound from the failure of them. They have already failed in a degree, since no part of them has yet taken place, but the removal of our forces from the Doaub, and Rohilchund, and of British officers and pensioners from the service of the Nabob; and the expence of the former thrown without any compensation on the Company.

aid, and the receipt of assets at Fyzabad.—For these reasons, therefore, I have not thought it necessary to lay the bearers that you conditionally ordered.

In reply to the 6th paragraph, nothing need be offered by me but my acknowledgments for the justice you do to my sentiments towards your person and government.

To the 7th. If your conduct should be arraigned, as you suspect, I can at all times testify that, upon the plan of the foregoing years, the receipts from the Nabob were only a deception, and not an advantage, but even an injury to the Company; for by the accumulating encrease of the demands upon him, and the proportionate decrease of his means, only his debt to the Company encreased, with a diminution of prospect of its liquidation; while the Company's actual money or assets went to the payment of the troops supposed to be maintained solely at the Vizier's expence. In proof of this, it will suffice to remark that the annual net remittances to the presidency should have been the difference

ference of the subsidy, and the real expences of the brigade; say, 12,00,000

The money paid from the treasury at Calcutta, to Abdulrahman Khan	3,30,000
And the payment made in like manner to Mirza Sadik Ally	3,00,000
Besides the full payment of such stores as the Company occasionally issued to the Nabob	
Sun. Rup.	18,30,000

or about 20,00,000 of current, which never yet has been the case from the annual Jaidads, or current collections — consequently the plan was a fallacy; for the difference between this amount and the remittances to the presidency was an actual loss that the Company annually sustained, instead of a supposed advantage of a brigade of infantry and cavalry being totally defrayed by the Nabob; from this therefore I may safely conclude, that the remission to the Nabob of this insufferable burthen was a profit to the Company whenever the extra troops paid by the Nabob shall be disbanded or quartered upon other neighbours, who are protected by our power, and the debt put into a probable state of speedy liquidation.

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8th. I expect a supply of money equal to the discharge of all the Nabob's arrears; and am much disappointed and mortified, that I am not now able to return with it.

To the 8th paragraph. If the supply expected at Fyzabad shall prove adequate to the discharge of all arrears due to the troops, and afford an adequate fund for a liquidation of the Company's debt, it will remain at your option to employ it as a remitance to the presidency, or the future payment of the troops you may still think necessary to keep up, to regulate the Nabob's internal government, in regard to which I shall hope for your determination, when I can inform you of what means I possess.

9th. Give me an immediate answer to the question which I have herein proposed, that I may lose no more time in fruitless inaction.

To the last paragraph. I trust you will find all my answers as explicit and decisive as you could wish them, and that they will enable you to determine upon yielding with confidence to the impulse arising from the necessity of your presence at the presidency.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
30th Dec. 1781.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 30th Dec. 1781.

I HAVE this day answered your public letter, in the form you seemed to expect. I hope there is nothing in it that may to you appear too pointed. If you wish the matter to be otherwise understood than I have taken up and stated it, I need not say I shall be ready to conform to whatever you may prescribe, and to take upon myself any share of the blame of the (hitherto) non-performance of the stipulations made on behalf of the Nabob; though I do assure you, I myself represented to his Excellency and the ministers, conceiving it to be your desire, that the apparent assumption of the reins of his government (for in that light he undoubtedly considered it at the first view) as specified in the agreement executed

cuted by him, was not meant to be *fully* and *literally* enforced, but that it was neceſſary you ſhould have ſomething to ſhew on your ſide, as the Company were deprived of a benefit without a requital; and upon the faith of this aſſurance alone, I believe I may ſafely affirm his Excellency's objections to ſigning the treaty were given up. If I have underſtood the matter wrong, or miſconceived your deſign, I am truly ſorry for it; however it is not too late to correct the error; and I am ready to undertake, and, God willing, to carry through, whatever you may, on receipt of my public letter, tell me is your final reſolve.

If you determine at all events, that the meaſure of reducing the Nabob's army, &c. ſhall be immediately undertaken, I ſhall take it as a particular favour if you will indulge me with a line at Fyzabad, that I may make the neceſſary previous arrangements with reſpect to the diſpoſal of my family, which I would not wiſh to retain here in the event either of a rupture with the Nabob, or the neceſſity of employing our forces in the reduction of his Aumils and troops; this done, I can begin the work in three days after my return from Fyzabad.

I am, &c. &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Haſtings.

Camp, Kella, Fyzabad, Jan. 14th 1782.

Honourable Sir,

SOME buſineſs of importance, which the Reſident had to ſettle at Fyzabad, occaſioned my ſuddenly joining him there. After my arrival, a couple of days paſſed in negociation, but without effect; and the party in the town collecting, and hourly gaining ſtrength, at length, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved that I ſhould, with my regiment, and four guns, ſtorm the town, which I effected the 12th in the morning. I very ſoon got poſſeſſion of the Kella, in which is the palace and Zenanah, and as there was not only ſeveral gates but openings in the walls, as I entered on one ſide they eſcaped at the other; but ſhortly after the party returned again, headed by the two principal Eunuchs, Bahr Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, and drew up oppoſite and within ſixty yards of one of my poſts, with three guns, and added the moſt aggravated behaviour; however, as they did not fire, or offer any other acts of hoſtility, and when I reflected on the conſequence that would attend a conteſted diſpute in the ſtreets of the town; of the Zenanah, &c. being ſubject to be plundered even by themſelves, which would

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would have been attributed to me; and being so situated for the safety of the female part of the family on one hand, who were under the most dreadful apprehension, and for the support of his Excellency's authority on the other, who was waiting the result on the outside of the town, I was for a short time doubtful how to decide; however, as I had Mahomed Affrein Cawn along with me, a person in high favour with the Nabob, and well acquainted with both parties, I desired to circulate lenient advice, pointing out how fatal an attack would be to them, and inevitable ruin to those they appeared so zealous to support. It had the effect; the two Eunuchs immediately surrendered, their people instantly left the town, and I ordered their guns to be dragged away.

As soon as the tumultuous noise was over, and I had posted guards for the safety of the palace, &c. I directly sent a Chubdar to the Begum, and offered every assistance she might want, and at the same time consistent with my instructions, which she accepted; and now I have the satisfaction to inform you the shops are all open, and peace and tranquillity prevail through the town.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Z. NAYLOR.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, &c.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I HAVE had this day the honour to receive your commands of the 25th ultimo, and am extremely concerned that the mode of conducting the Fayzabad business, as set forth in my address of the 18th January, did not meet your entire approbation. Permit me to assure you, Sir, it is with the greatest reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the express letter of your instructions; and I cannot accuse myself of having done it on any occasion, where it did not appear to my judgment that the object and spirit of them rendered it adviseable, and that the apparent necessity would justify such latitude.

In the present instance, it was more in appearance and expression, than in fact, that any deviation was made from your orders of the 26th December; for although I was constrained, from my strict regard to the accomplishment of what I considered the first object of this undertaking, to admit of a temporary forbearance, for the reasons assigned in my address of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that time to be considered as entirely at the mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers were in the possession of his Aumils, their troops dispersed, and the

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Kella of Fayzabad, which included also the Bhow Begum's own habitation, under the guard of his Excellency's and our troops.

It remained only to get possession of her wealth; and, to effect this, it was then, and is still, my firm and unalterable opinion, that it was indispensably necessary to employ temporizing expedients, and to work upon the hopes and fears of the Begum herself, and more especially upon those of her principal agents, through whose means alone there appeared any probable chance of our getting access to the hidden treasures of the late Vizier; and when I acquaint you that by far the greatest part of the treasure which has been delivered to the Nabob, was taken from the most secret recesses in the houses of the two Eunuchs, whence of course it could not have been extracted without the adoption of those means which could induce the discovery, I shall hope for your approbation of what I did. I must also observe, that no further rigour than that which I exerted could have been used against females in this country, to whom there can be no access. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only two who could enter the Zenanah: The first was a son, who was to address a parent, and of course could use no language or action but that of earnest and reiterated solicitation; and the other was in all appearance a traitor to our cause: Where force could be employed, it was not spared. The troops of the Begum were driven away and dispersed, their guns taken, her fort, and the outward walls of her house, seized, and occupied by our troops, at the Nabob's requisition, and her chief agents imprisoned and put in irons.—No further step was left.—And in this situation they still remain, and are to continue (excepting only a remission of the irons) until the final liquidation of the payment; and if then you deem it proper, no possible means of offence being left in her hands or those of her agents, all her lands and property having been taken, I mean, with your sanction, to restore her house and servants to her; and hope to be favoured with your early reply, as I expect that a few days will complete the final surrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,

15th February 1782.

To

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To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier, Lucknow.

Sir,

WHEN his hignefs the Vizier did me the honour of a visit at Chunar, he made me a request, that we might have an interview once in every year, for the purposes of discussing and adjusting the mutual concerns of the Company and himself, and of improving the harmony and confidence which subsisted between the two governments. To this requisition I readily assented, and greatly lament that the situation of affairs makes it impossible for me to effect a meeting at this time. The present important conjuncture demands the united and vigorous exertions of both governments for their common safety and success; and in this situation, whilst the greatest cordiality is requisite, you inform me that his highness is much dissatisfied on many points contained in our late agreement, and which he made his own request.—To remove his uneasiness on these subjects, and to give him entire satisfaction on others which may be the objects of his fears and suspicions, and to give a lasting cement and encrease of strength and reciprocal advantage to our alliance, would be impracticable by any other mode than verbal communication, explanations, and assurances; and as, for the reason above assigned, I cannot make these in person, I think it indispensable to delegate the trust to another.—For these purposes I have deputed Major Palmer to attend his Highness and his ministers at Lucknow. Major Palmer, as you know, has been my confidential secretary for several years; I have disclosed to him, without reserve, my sentiments on every point of the relative connection between the Company and the court of Oude, and I can rely upon him for a faithful explanation of them.

I have also instructed Major Palmer to give the most express assurances to the Ministers, of my approbation of their conduct, and determination to protect and support them, so long as they preserve their attachment to this government, and pursue the real interest of the Vizier.

Major Palmer has other public objects in charge, which he will personally communicate to you; and I most earnestly require of you the strongest co-operation of your authority and influence towards his attaining them. I think his success almost certain, if he meets with your cordial support and assistance: whatever may be the event, a considerable share in producing it will be attributed to you, and affect you accordingly.

Such explanations as are intended solely for the satisfaction of the Nabob, and coming from myself, I have directed

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rected Major Palmer to communicate ſeparately to him, but in doing this, to uſe every precaution to avoid any dimunition of your authority or influence.

I have ſent Major Davy as a confidential Aſſiſtant to Major Palmer, and in caſe any accident ſhould happen, the latter to execute his commiſſion.

Fort William, May 7th, 1782.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient, &c. &c.
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Reſident at Lucknow.

Sir, Fort William, 10th Aug. 1782.

I HAVE had the mortification to hear that Almaſs Ally Cawn has at length, as was long ſince foreboded, fled from the Vizier's, dominions, taking with him an immenſe treaſure, the fruits of his embezzlements and known oppreſſions. Though this intelligence has not come through its authentic channel, I have no dobt of its truth; I am compelled to credit the reports which aſſure me that every point of the Vizier's adminiſtration is in the ſame diſorder. For this, and every other failure in the inſtructions which I gave to you in writing on the 20th September, at Chunar, you are ſolely reſponſible to this government, as Hyder Beg Cawn is to the Nabob; for to your conjoint hands has the adminiſtration of his affairs been from that time committed.

I have received your repeated aſſurances, addreſſed to myſelf and to the Board, that the Nabob's debt to the Company ſhould be completely diſcharged by the cloſe of the year. In my fears for a diſappointment in this expectation, and in the contrary belief, that in its actual train the debt is more likely to exceed the amount at which it ſtood the laſt year, than to be paid, I hereby apprize you, that if at the end of the Fuſſellee year any part of it ſhall remain in arrears, I ſhall move the Board to call upon you publicly to account for it; and, that you may know that this declaration is not made on light grounds, I ſhall enter a copy of this letter upon the Company's records. It will do you no injury, if you diſprove the juſtice of my ſuſpicions by the effects of your exertions.

I have written to Hyder Beg upon the ſame ſubject, and intended to refer you to his letter for my fuller ſentiments, but I ſhall not have it ready for diſpatch for this poſt.

I am, Sir, &c.

Patna, the 17th Aug. 1782.

Extracts

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Extracts of Mr. Middleton's Defence, to the Governor-general and Council.

THE current annual claims varied from 70 to 130 lacks of rupees, which the revenues of the country, as will appear by reference to former accounts, never anſwered to, ſeldom yielding to the Reſident's treaſury beyond from 60 to 80 lacks, the conſequence of which was, that the balance was annually accumulating inſtead of decreaſing by the annual receipts. When I took charge of the office of Collector of the Vizier's aſſignments to the Company, this balance upon the Reſident's book, cloſed to the end of the Fuſſulee year 1187, was 32 lacks, excluſive of 10½ lacks army donation. In the year 1188 it increaſed 12 lacks, making 44 lacks, when the Governor-general arrived at Benares the beginning of 1189. To diſcharge ſo much of this balance as was due to the Company, therefore, was the object of the treaty; and to enſure the accompliſhment of it in the ſhorteſt time poſſible, a plan was laid down, one part of which was the ſuſpenſion of ſundry current claims upon the Nabob; ſuch as Mr. Wombwell's office, and the temporary and cavalry brigades, which together amounted to ſo heavy an expence, that, with the continuance of them, even the current annual claim could not be anſwered, much leſs the above-mentioned balance liquidated. But the year 1180, from unforeſeen events, was already began ere the treaty was ſigned; and theſe large bodies could not be removed without ſome previous notice. Between two and three months were aſſigned them for prepartion, in which time it was ſuppoſed ſufficient funds would have been forthcoming for their diſcharge. The paying them off involved *another balance* of arrears to them reſpectively, not included in the balance of 1187 and 1188 to the Company. Theſe arrears further ſwelled in their amount, becauſe the monthly collections to the period of their diſcharge were not equal to their pay and arrears, and a proviſion for the other indiſpenſable diſburſements of my office, which obliged me to deviſe other means of liquidating them; accordingly, after a long negociation, attended with much difficulty, I accompliſhed a loan at the beginning of the year, on my own credit, of 10 lacks; without which exertion, the reſources of the whole year would have been clogged with the increaſing amount of theſe arrears. While the effect of my negociation was yet in ſuſpenſe, *another balance*, before we heard of, amounting to upwards of 26 lacks, was ſent up from the preſidency. Why this balance was unknown to the Reſident, to the Governor-general, and conſequently not included at the ſigning of

of the treaty, will be shewn in its proper place. I had pledged myself to the Governor-general for realizing *the Company's* balance, which of course meant the balance in agitation before us at the signing of the treaty which had *this* for its declared object.

Notwithstanding which I realized both, as well as the *arrears*, then also unknown, and further replaced the failure of the assignment on Furruckabad, &c. amounting altogether to 138 lacks of Fyzabad siccas, near a crore and a half of current rupees, instead of 60, 70, or 80 lacks, which has been the utmost exertions of the management of former years.

The following short sketch of the gross amount realized by me, will more clearly explain the foregoing.

Amount assignments for current claims, the first installments of which I was forced to anticipate by an advance of 10 lacks - -	76,00,000
Amount balance agitated at the signing of the treaty, deducting army donation - -	44,00,000
Amount further balance from the presidency	26,00,000
Rupees of Sorts	1,46,00,000

* * * * * * * * * *

I shall now state the circumstances of the balances which I am charged for not realizing. I have said that the balance, as it stood on the Resident's books at the signing of the treaty, was the balance I stood pledged to the Governor-general to realize. It afterwards appeared, that upon adjusting the general books at the presidency, a separate balance, accumulated in a course of *seven years*, was due from the Nabob for military stores, &c. supplied from the Company's magazines, difference of coinage, and other heads therein particularized, amounting to 26 lacks to the 30th April 1779. But from circumstances unknown to me, no intimation of any such claims had ever before been given to me or my predecessors.

Notwithstanding this, and its coming to me unaccompanied by any order of the Board, I proposed, in my letter of the 21st February 1782, No. 8, to recover it, and did actually bring the amount to credit in my accounts for 1189, as stated in my address to the honourable Board of the 7th September 1782, No. 9.

But after this, when the general books at the presidency were brought up another year, *a further* similar claim appeared for 14 lacks for the military stores, &c. supplied the Nabob to that period, the 30th April 1780. This came too late to be included within the year 1189. I had already exceeded my pledge, and accepted responsibility

bility from 44 to 70 lacks, above half as much again. I could not venture, at so advanced a period, or more properly the *close* of the collections, to extend it to 84 lacks. The new resources, formed on new savings, could not operate without end, nor in such great proportions within the first year. Moreover, had I been possessed of resources to enable me to include it, I met a greater opposition from the Nabob and his ministers on the second claim, than I had experienced on the first. Upon explaining the first account to them, when I came to the charge for military stores, they demand to have their deliveries of military stores, and the charge of the Candahar horse, with the Bombay detachment set against it; when, after much difficulty, I prevailed so far as to induce them to suspend this claim; assuring them that it would be duly and equitably considered in future account which the Governor-general's assurances afterwards to the Nabob confirmed. This served once, but would not a second time, when the demand of 14 lacks became repeated on the same grounds. So far from acquiescing, they called upon me then to perform the assurances I had given them on the former occasion, by setting against the account, the amount of their deliveries of stores, &c. which they would be satisfied to have estimated by any mode of valuation the Board would prescribe. They argued that if I would not agree to this, they must conclude, that their claims were not meant to be considered, in which case "I might at once take the country, since justice was out "of the question." This was their passionate language. I for the present yielded to it, and referred the claim to the consideration of the Board, who alone could decide upon it.

Let me here be permitted to observe, that had the whole claims and expectations of the year been persisted in, they would have amounted to near double the Nabob's net revenue, viz.

Current claims — — —	76,00,000
Chunar balance, including donation —	55,00,000
Further balance to April 1779 — —	26,00,000
Do. — — April 1780 — —	14,00,000
Major Palmer's claims — —	82,00,000
	2,53,00,000

Upwards of two crores and a half; besides arrears to troops recalled, and failures above explained, for which the Minister raised 25 or 26 lacks more.

Gross

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Groſs ſettlement	2,25,00,000	
Deduct charges	80,00,000	
Net revenue. -	1,45,00,000	

of nominal revenue, never completely realized.

The Nabob's net revenue, to my knowledge, never exceeded a crore and a half, but generally fell very ſhort of that ſum.

* * * * * *

I had given the ſtrongeſt hopes of liquidating the Company's balance, for which I ſtood pledged, from the fruits of this negociation, and that I ſhould be able to conclude it in fourteen days.——I performed it within ten days after my arrival at Fyzabad; and I truſt, when the nature of this buſineſs becomes duly conſidered, my conduct in the execution of it will not appear any more a criminal diſobedience of orders, than it was a breach of promiſe on thoſe orders. As I underſtood the caſe, the Nabob had a claim of inheritance of his father's treaſures upon the Begums. The public treaſury was unqueſtionably his right, with the dominions and government that devolved upon him at his father's death; however, from conſideration of reſpect and attention to the Begums, the Company (upon their yielding up a part of the treaſures of the deceaſed, declaring it to be the whole) agreed to ſtand between them and any attack from the Nabob, and further guaranteed Jagheers for their ſubſiſtence.—The influence of the Company's Reſident at the court of the Vizier became the pledge and ſecurity of his Excellency's agreement with his family, and would probably have continued ſo to the preſent hour, had it not appeared that theſe Begums and their agents have uſed the property and power, thus encreaſed and preſerved by our mediation, as inſtruments againſt us. They fomented and joined in the plan of a general extirpation of the Engliſh. In return for which, the Company's guarantee was withdrawn. I was no longer to yield to them the protection of my office, but leave the Nabob to the recovery of his rights; my part being to take effectual care, that ſuch recovery ſhould be converted to the liquidation of the Company's balance, and generally to aſſiſt the Nabob in effecting the object. All this I did. I arrived at Fyzabad the 10th January, in three days.—On the 13th, at day-break, I put the Nabob in full and quiet poſſeſſion of the Kella and palace of the Begums, who were conſequently at his entire mercy and devotion. In ſeven days more, on the 20th, the buſineſs was concluded. Under that date, I informed the Governor-general of my ſucceſs; to which he replied, in terms that encouraged me to hope my conduct and complete ſucceſs in that very delicate buſineſs had

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had met his approbation, and that the justification of my first proceedings, offered in my address of the 5th February, would be admitted. The whole business took up but 10 days. I had promised 14 from the .... day of March.—I set out the 4th from Lucknow, which carries me two days beyond my promise; but had it taken twenty days, or even a month, it could not, I flatter myself, be termed a long or unwarrantable delay, when the importance of the business, and the peculiar embarrassments attending the prosecution of it to its desired end, are considered. The Nabob was son to the Begum we were to proceed against;—a son against a mother must at least save appearances in his mode of proceeding. The produce of his negociation was to be received by the Company: receiving a benefit—accompanying the Nabob—withdrawing their protection—were circumstances sufficient to mark the English as the principal movers in this business. At a court where no opportunity is lost to throw odium upon us, so favourable an occasion was not missed to persuade the Nabob that we instigated him to dishonour his family for our benefit. The impressions made by such suggestions constantly retarded the progress, and more than once actually broke off the business, which rendered the utmost caution on my part necessary, especially as I had no assistance to expect from the ministers, who could not openly move in the business. In the East it is well known, that no man, either by himself or his troops, can enter the walls of a Zenana, scarcely in the case of acting against an open enemy, much less of an Ally—an Ally against his own mother. The outward walls, and the Begum's agents, were all that were liable to immediate attack; they were dealt with, and successfully, as the event proved. I therefore confidently trust, if it shall appear to the honourable Board, as it does to me, that the spirit and main object of my orders were strictly adhered to and fulfilled, that they will not longer hold me criminal for a deviation from the precise letter of them.

The 3d and last division of my charge relates to the current business of my office, unconnected with the immediate objects of the treaty. This includes want of political information, exemplified in the flight of Almass Ally Cawn—Employment of troops—Disorders in the Nabob's country, &c.

In answer to this charge, I must be permitted to observe, that besides the general information contained in my list of my public correspondence, hereto subjoined, immediately after my arrival at Lucknow, on the 2d October 1781, I gave a complete and particular detail of the spreading

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ſpreading of the rebellion (influenced by Rajah Cheyt Sing) throughout the country, with the teſtimony of Colonel Hannay, and other officers, which was afterwards confirmed in fuller detail, by the depoſitions taken on the ſpot by Sir Elijah Impey. After this, nothing new in that line occurred, the rebellion every day, and in every quarter, ſubſiding, not increaſing. Thoſe who roſe in ſupport of the Begums, my letter from Fayzabad ſtated; but they roſe and fell with the buſineſs, excepting one of the aids ſought by the Begums in Bulbudder Sing, who, in ſpite of all our efforts to cruſh him, continued his reſiſtance, and fell only two months ago.

* * * * * * * * * *

P. S. I have thought it unneceſſary to mention, that I have made no diſtinction, in quoting my public correſpondence, between letters addreſſed to the Board, and to the Governor-general; the orders of the honourable Board of the third July 1781 (never ſince revoked) precluding the neceſſity of ſuch diſtinction.

Extracts of Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Haſtings; dated Lucknow, 25th March, 1782.

THE third Article, which includes the Jaguire of Fizulla Cawn, among the reſt hitherto been deferred by the poſtſcript to your general inſtructions, which forbids it, until circumſtances may render it more expedient and eaſy to be attempted than the preſent more material purſuits of government make it appear. However, I beg leave to repeat, that a ſtipend or allowance, in ready money, to that chief, in lieu of his Jaguire lands, ſituated and peopled as they are by his own tribe, in vicinity to three capital territories of the ſame caſt, would be far more conducive to the intereſts and ſecurity of this government, and as ſuch permit me to recommend it to your conſideration.

* * * * * * * * * *

Theſe compleat your inſtructions, ſince which you have directed, as an additional article, that the Nabob ſhould be ſupported in his claim upon the Bow Begum, for the inheritance of the late Vizier's public treaſure — This has alſo been done; 45 lacks have been recovered, and the Begum's chief agents are now under ſevere reſtraint for the remainder of what they engaged to produce.

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To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor-general, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

THE Begum having finally agreed to ſurrrender to the Nabob the treaſures of his late father, the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah, which ſhe had hitherto retained in her poſſeſſion, his Excellency deſired me to withdraw the troops from the Killa, that the Begum might return into it, in order to deliver the treaſure. To this I conſented, as alſo to the re-delivery to the Nabob of the two Eunuchs, Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn, without whoſe preſence and aſſiſtance nothing could be effected, as they were the only agents employed by the Begum in the ſecreting and depoſiting it; they previouſly pledging themſelves to be preſent when called upon, to anſwer to the accuſation which I have informed them was laid againſt them. In the meanwhile, the Begum has delivered over her Chelah Shumſheer Cawn, who was Phouſdar of Tanda when Captain Gordon arrived there; ſo that I now hope the whole buſineſs, upon which I came here, is in the moſt favourable train.

I have the honour to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient and
Moſt humble ſervant,
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

Fayzabad,
20th January 1782.

True Copy,
Nath. Middleton.

Sir, Baugulpoor, 27th Jan. 1782.

I have received your letter of the 20th inſtant. I thank you for the good news which it contains, and for the proſpect which it has afforded me of a complete and proſperous termination of the meaſures impending.

I deſire that you will endeavour to diſſuade the Nabob from concluding any ſettlement with the Begums, until the Board, or myſelf, have been adviſed of the amount of the treaſure recovered from them, and of the balance due at the lateſt period from the Nabob to the Company.

I hope to receive from you a report of the final iſſue of this buſineſs, and of a ſum realized, and in your poſſeſſion, for our relief, in time to ſend advice of both by the packet now under diſpatch; and I ſhall keep it open until the 7th of next month, but no longer, for that purpoſe.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

True Copy,
Nath. Middleton.

To

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To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Governor-general, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have had this day the honour to receive your commands of the 25th ultimo; and am extremely concerned that the mode of conducting the Fayzabad buſineſs, as ſet forth in my addreſs of the 18th January, did not meet your entire approbation. Permit me to aſſure you, Sir, it is with the greateſt reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the expreſs letter of your inſtructions; and I cannot accuſe myſelf of having done it on any occaſion where it did not appear to my judgment, that the object and ſpirit of them rendered it adviſeable, and that the apparent neceſſity would juſtify ſuch latitude.

In the preſent inſtance, it was more in appearance and expreſſion than in fact, that any deviation was made from your orders of the 26th December; for although I was conſtrained, from ſtrict regard to the accompliſhment of what I conſidered the firſt object of this undertaking, to admit of a temporary forbearance, for the reaſons aſſigned in my addreſs of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that time to be conſidered as entirely at the mercy of the Nabob; their Jagheers were in poſſeſſion of his Aumils; their troops diſperſed at the Kella of Fayzabad, which included alſo the Bhow Begum's own habitation, under the guard of his Excellency's and our troops.

It remained only to get poſſeſſion of her wealth; and to effect this it was then, and is ſtill, my unalterable opinion, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to employ temporizing expedients, and to work upon the hopes and fears of the Begum herſelf, and more eſpecially upon thoſe of her principal agents, through whoſe means alone there appeared any probable chance of our getting acceſs to the hidden treaſures of the late Vizier: and when I acquaint you, that by far the greateſt part of the treaſure which has been delivered to the Nabob was taken from the moſt ſecret receſſes in the houſes of the two Eunuchs, whence, of courſe, it could not have been extracted, without the adoption of thoſe means which could induce the diſcovery, I ſhall hope for your approbation of what I did. I muſt alſo obſerve, that no further rigour than that which I exerted, could have been uſed againſt females in this country, to whom there can be no acceſs. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only two who could enter the Zananah. The firſt was a ſon, who was to addreſs a parent, and of courſe could uſe no language or action but that of earneſt and reiterated ſolicitation; and the other was in all appearance a traitor to our cauſe. Where force could be employed, it was not ſpared. Th

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troops of the Begum were driven away and dispersed; their guns taken; her fort, and the outward walls of her house, seized and occupied by our troops, at the Nabob's requisition, and her chief agents imprisoned and put in irons. No further step was left; and in this situation they still remain, and are to continue (excepting only the remission of the irons) until the final liquidation of the payment; and if then you deem it proper, no possible means of offence being left in her hands, or those of her agents, all her lands and property having been taken, I mean, with your sanction, to restore her house and servants to her; and hope to be favoured with your early reply, as I expect that a few days will complete the final surrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow, NATH. MIDDLETON.
5th Feb. 1782. Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

List of Mr. Middleton's Public Correspondence with the Honourable Board, from the Period of signing the Treaty of Chunar to the 23d of October 1782, when he delivered over the Residency to Mr. Bristow.

Of date					
17th	Oct.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.		
20	Do.	1781.	To	Do.	Do.
20	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable Board.		
23	Do.	1781.	Do.	Do.	
28	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.		
29	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable Board.		
30	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.		
2	Nov.	1781.	Do.	Do.	
14	Do.	1781.	Do.	Do.	
4	Dec.	1781.	Do.	Do.	
12	Do.	1781.	Do.	Do.	
17	Do.	1781.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.		
19	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.		
22	Do.	1781.	Do.	Do.	
24	Do.	1781.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.		
27	Do.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.		
30	Do.	1781.	Do.	Do.	

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Of date			
3	Jan.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
13	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
15	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
18	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
20	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
25	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
27	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
3	Feb.	1782.	Do. Do.
5 5	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
6	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
7	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
8	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
11 11	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
21 21	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
24	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
6	Mar.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
10	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
11	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
14	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
20	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
21	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
22	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
25	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
27	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
3	Apr.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
7	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
8	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
9	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
10	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
12	Do.	1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor-general and Council.

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Of date			
12	Apr.	1782.	To the private Persian Interpreter to the Honourable Governor-general.
15	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
26	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
9 9	May Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
10 10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
12	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
17	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
21	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
21	Do.	1782.	Do. &c. Members of the Supreme Council.
24	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
27	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
4	June	1782.	Do. Do.
18	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council.
18	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
15	July	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
17	Aug.	1782.	Do. Do.
2	Sept.	1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor-general and Council.
7	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
7	Do.	1782.	Do. &c. the Members of the Supreme Council.
9	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
12	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
14	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
15	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor-general and Council.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
16	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
17	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
17	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.

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Of date			
18	Sept.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
19	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
20 / 20	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
22	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
3	Oct.	1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Board of Inspection.
8	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
15	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
22	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
22	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices, &c.
23	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Governor-general, &c. the Members of the Supreme Council.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

To the Honourable Board. C.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have this day received confirmed information of the death of the Nabob Nudjiff Cawn. My opinion upon this subject I had the honour to submit to the Governor-general under date 24th February last, upon a premature information of the decease of that Nabob, which hitherto I find no reason to alter; I therefore beg leave to refer your honourable Board to that, as containing every sentiment or information that I can at present offer upon the subject.

The Nabob Vizier seems to think it probable, or possible, that Mahadajee Scindia may be induced, either at the instigation of his own ambition, or at the king's solicitation, to proceed to Delhi upon this conjecture; his alarms and apprehensions upon this head, he states in his letter of this day's date to the Governor-general; and in order to prevent the only one of the two afore-mentioned inducements which lays within his reach to attempt, he has written an Arzee to the King, assuring him of his attachment to his interest, declaring himself ready to march with his forces to support his views, and mentioning your government as equally well disposed to his majesty, and finally recommending to him to call in no other foreign aid. He has also written letters of condolence to the late Nabob's family, and others of encouragement to the principal commanders of his armies, advising them to continue firm in their duty and allegiance to the king, whom he tells them he is marching to Delhi to support. Most of these chiefs were formerly the ser-

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vants of this court, and many of them connected by blood with the Vizier's family. His Excellency has also made an application to Colonel Morgan to move the subsidiary brigade towards Etawa, to be in readiness to act in case any emergency should require it. I have sent his Excellency's application to the Colonel, but have only recommended his holding the brigade in readiness to march to that central station, either upon the receipt of your orders to this effect, or some intermediate urgent necessity occurring, which may preclude the propriety of making any delay whatever. This will, I hope, meet your approbation.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect,
Honourable Sir, and Sirs,
Lucknow, Your most obedient,
10th April 1782. Humble servant,
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

To the Honourable Board. E.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

The contentions and party disputes which have prevailed at the court of Delhi since the death of the late Nabob Nudjiff Cawn, seem now to be taking a decided turn in favour of Mirza Shuffer Cawn, whose pretensions to the chief rule in the administration, although acknowledged and secretly espoused by the King, have hitherto met with violent and successful opposition from Affrasiab Cawn; but the latter having a few days ago found it expedient to move with the main body of his army across the Jumna, for the defence of his own possessions against the threatened attacks of Mahomed Beg Cawn Amdâny, who is joined with the opposite party; Mirza Shuffer availed himself of this conjuncture, to attempt by force the effectual establishment of his authority at the capital; accordingly, on the 11th instant, he marched his whole army into the town, seized upon the principal gates and avenues, surrounded the houses of Mudjud al Dowla, the Dewan Nudjiff Cooly Cawn, and Luttauft Ally Cawn, all of whom were united in the combination against him, and secured the person of the former, as he has also, probably, by this time that of Nudjiff Cooly Cawn, who had, when my last intelligence was dispatched, lost all his artillery, several of his principal Sirdars, and was reduced, as a last resource, to the necessity of defending himself with musquetry only, within the walls of his private habitation. The capture of his person will leave Mirza Shuffer Cawn without any competitor

upon

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upon the ſpot capable of oppoſing him, and enable him immediately to turn his whole force, in conjunction with Mahomed Beg Cawn, againſt Affraſaib and his party, with the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs.

There can, I apprehend, be no doubt but his Majeſty, upon this turn of affairs, will cheerfully and openly acquieſce in the demands of Mirza Shuffer Cawn, which it appears have never extended beyond the inveſtiture of ſuch offices as he is univerſally allowed to have had an indiſputable claim to, upon the death of Nudjiff Cawn; and he is a perſon attached, both from ties of conſanguinity and inclination, of the Vizier's government, as well as the firſt in rank and credit among the remaining chiefs of the empire. I preſume the honourable Board will conſider his riſing influence as a favourable incident to the political intereſts of the Company; being well aſſured that the ſmalleſt encouragement given to this chief, were it to conſiſt only in an acknowledgment of his title to the aſcendancy he has acquired, with the bare name of our ſupport, would ſecure his attachment to the mutual intereſts of our own and the Vizier's government; and render him not only a powerful barrier to theſe provinces, but a moſt uſeful partizan, ſhould motives of neceſſity or expedience at any future period induce your honourable Board to extend your views beyond the limits to which they are at preſent confined.

I have the honour to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

Lucknow,
14th Sept. 1782.

Extract of Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Honourable Board; dated Lucknow, the 17th September 1782.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Conformably to the ſpirit of the inſtructions given to me for my guidance by the Honourable the Governor-general, upon the concluſion of his agreement with the Nabob Vizier at Chunar, I have the honour to inform you with his Excellency's concurrence. I have ſtationed in each Aumildary throughout theſe provinces an agent of my own nomination, in the capacity of Daroga Taſſuah, or Muſter-maſter to the Mooteyna troops, whoſe duty it is to muſter and tranſmit to my office, regular monthly returns of thoſe eſtabliſhments; and upon whoſe report and ſignature alone their pay is to be iſſued. This meaſure will eſtabliſh a neceſſary check upon the conduct of

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of the Aumils, and effectually obviate thofe abufes and mifapplications confequent to the former irregular mode of conducting this branch of expence. I could not with propriety have taken fo decifive a line in this bufinefs at an earlier period, as the Nabob and minifters, returning to the capital fo late as the month of October, found themfelves obliged to continue the Aumils already in employ in their refpective trufts, or rifk, by new appointments at that advanced feafon, the lofs of the whole collections on the Khereif or firft crop, which amount to two fifths of the annual revenue, and the fame circumftance involved the neceffity of leaving their agreements nearly in the form in which they ftood the preceding year. Hence it became difficult and dangerous to take any immediate fteps for the introduction of the Governor-general's arrangements, beyond laying the foundations of a future reform, which was duly attended to; and thefe I can now fecurely build upon, as by availing myfelf of this early period, every Aumil is previoufly apprifed of the terms on which he embarks, and ftands without excufe for any failure in his engagements. I fhall have the fatisfaction of laying before you very fhortly as correct a return of the troops actually employed, as it may be poffible to make, after curtailing numbers every where, as far as it can be done confiftently with the fecurity of the collections; and out of the favings, which I am confident of immediately producing, I have ftipulated with the minifter for the maintenance of four complete regiments of the honourable Company's troops, at the rate of 25,000 rupees per month each, as eftablifhed by the Chunar treaty. Should this meafure meet your approbation, and it be fuitable to your views to enlarge the plan, I have no doubt of being able, by degrees, to introduce as many more regiments as you may wifh to have employed in lieu of the government troops now maintained for the fervice.

I have the further fatisfaction to inform your honourable Board, that I have at length prevailed on the Nabob Vizier to carry into effectual execution the meafure recommended by the honourable the Governor-general, for the inftitution of courts of Adawlut, under proper regulations, throughout his dominions. Molovy Mowbean, a very refpectable, learned, and diftinguifhed man of the law, has been appointed Sudder ul Huck, and a deputy on his behalf is going out with each Aumil, accompanied with a proper and competent eftablifhment for the due adminiftration of juftice, independently of the Phoufdars and collectors. This meafure will alfo, I flatter myfelf, meet with your approbation.

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It is incumbent upon me to inform you of the improper conduct of Fyzulee Cawn, who for some time past has been carrying on a constant correspondence with the Rohilla chiefs, and maintains discourses in his public Durbar of a very contrary tendency to the line of his duty, and professed allegiance to the Vizier.

It is not very likely he would be able to effect any thing that could materially endanger these provinces, yet it must be observed, that any attempt, however unsuccessful to himself, would to a certainty occasion a very heavy loss in the Vizier's collections. An advantage gained by his troops in a late unfortunate dispute with two of the Vizier's battalions at Darrangur, has had the natural effect of exciting insolence and temerity, and make it now not very easy for that chief, were he so reclined, to repress the turbulent spirit of his followers.

By the 3d article of the treaty concluded between the honourable the Governor-general and the Vizier at Chunar, his Excellency is impowered to place Fyzula Cawn upon the same footing with the other Jaghardars, giving him his allowances in money instead of lands. But the honourable the Governor-general, though acceding to the Nabob's proposal, deeming it unadviseable that the measure should be attempted in the then situation of this government, and during the active scene which occupied the Company's troops, I in consequence prevailed on the Nabob to suspend it until a more convenient opportunity might offer. These objections to the measure being now, I conceive, removed, and this being the only Jagheer existing under the Vizier's government, I would, if the honourable board are pleased to approve, venture to advise the resumption of it, as soon as the cessation of the rains will permit. For this it will be necessary the Nabob should obtain not only your previous sanction, but assurance of your support, in case, which I think very probable, his own strength should be found unequal to the undertaking.

The possessions of Fayzula Cawn are so situated, that there is no possibility of cutting off his retreat, whenever he might chuse to attempt it; and should ever it so happen, the great extra collections he has for some years past made beyond the amount for which the Jagheer was originally granted, now supposed to be accumulated to one crore and an half of rupees, must prove a total and imparable loss to this country: it seems therefore worthy the intention of your honourable Board, to co-operate with the Vizier in such measures as may be most effectual in obviating the mischiefs which his Excellency justly apprehends from leaving Fayzula Cawn in his present unre-

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unreſtricted ſituation, eſpecially as the propoſed change cannot, in my conception, be conſidered as any actual innovation on the rights of that chief's treaty with the late Vizier, which ſecure to him an annual income of fifteen lacks, and this the Nabob by no means deſigns to deprive him of, but wiſhes to pay it in money, inſtead of allowing him to collect above thrice that ſum from lands, by means which drain the other parts of Rohilchund of their Recates and revenues, and enable him to maintain a large force ready upon all occaſions to join any internal or foreign enemy, which might in oppoſition to his Excellency's government; and there can be no doubt but Zabilly Cawn, with whom he is cloſely connected, and keeps up a conſtant intercourſe, would ſeize any opening which might yield him the fainteſt hopes of recovering his hereditary poſſeſſion in Rohilcund.

Extracts of Letters from the Resident at Oude to the Governor-general and Council, respecting the Conduct of Fayzula Cawn.

Extract, dated 27th December 1781.

"I must alſo take the liberty to add my opinion, that "unleſs Fazula Cawn, remotely ſituated as he is, out of "reach of interruption, in the center of his own tribe "and country, connected uninterruptedly with the other "two remaining Patan powers, becomes included in this "general reform of the Jagheers, or ſome effectual check "impoſed upon him, the whole may prove abortive; "while, if truly enforced, may ſave this country, and "with it poſſibly much of our own blood and treaſure."

Extract of Ditto, dated the 24th February 1782.

"In ſuch an event, I ſhould think it very probable he "would be joined by Fyzoola Cawn, who, there is ſtrong "reaſon to believe, is by no means well affected to the "Vizier's government, and who has of late made ſuch "preparations, and ſuch a diſpoſition of his family and "wealth, as evidently manifeſt either an intended or ex- "pected rupture."

Extract of Ditto, dated the 25th March 1782.

"The third Article, which includes the Jaguire of Fy- "zulla Cawn among the reſt, has hitherto been deferred "by the poſtſcript to your general inſtructions, which "forbids

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"forbids it until circumſtances may render it more expe-"dient and eaſy to be attempted than the preſent more "material purſuits of government make it appear. How-"ever, I beg leave to repeat, that a ſtipend or allowance "in ready money to that chief, in lieu of his Jaguire "lands, ſituated and peopled, as they are, by his own "tribe, in vicinity to three capital territories of the ſame "caſt, would be far more conducive to the intereſts and "ſecurity of this government; and as ſuch, permit me "to recommend to your conſideration."

Extract of Ditto, dated the 15*th April* 1782.

"Zabitta Khan, at Ghous Gheer, is arming and en-"tering into alliances with the Secks. The Nabob Fy-"zala Cawn, from the beſt intelligence I am able to "procure, carries on a cloſe and ſecret correſpondence "with him; he is gone ſo far as to throw out ſome very "inflammatory diſcourſes in his Durbar; and by this "day's intelligence it appears, that ſome uſual reſtraints "have been impoſed on my agent, who hitherto had free "acceſs at his Durbar, to ſend intelligence of what paſſed "there. I ſhall be very watchful of his conduct and "motions, and not fail to give your honourable Board "regular information of every thing that I may think "worth your notice. I have the honour to be, with the "greateſt reſpect."

True extracts
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON

Extracts of Mr. Johnſon's Defence.

3d Charge, Conſ. 7th September 1782.

Major Palmer's Letter.

FOR ſending repeatedly to the Vizier and to his Miniſter Hyder Beg Khân, to adviſe them againſt transferring the 10 lacks of rupees, intended as a preſent to the Governor-general, to the Company's account, as it would be a precedent for further demands, which if the Vizier did not reſiſt in the firſt inſtance, this government would never ceaſe to harraſs him for money.

ANSWER.

This extract, and the matter of the remaining charges, are not in the copy of the proceedings of the 7th September, ſent to me in December laſt; I am not the leſs ready to meet them here.

The act of intention, as far as I ſhould limit them, in admitting myſelf the cauſe of preventing the 10 lacks mentioned from being *at that time* paid to the Company are true. The reaſons aſſigned

aſſigned for ſuch prevention "leſt the Nabob ſhould be "again harraſſed, &c." are the Miniſter's own words and objections made to me, transferred into my mouth. The mode alſo by meſſage is likewiſe miſrepreſented, but that is immaterial; ſuffice it for me to explain the act: I acknowledge 50 lacks were due in balance: all the Nabob's reſources not promiſing to prove equal to diſcharge this balance, a new claim was at this ſame inſtant made of 82 lacks: the reſources in my hands the ſole funds exiſting to anſwer both; the means unequal to this end—the queſtion remained, which of the two claims, the new or the old, ſhould be firſt paid? I did not heſitate one inſtant to declare, that if any of the Aſſets placed in my hands ſhould be attempted to be eſtranged from the purpoſes for which they were aſſigned, I ſhould declare it a breach of treaty. They were to diſcharge the balances of years. The ſole object of the late treaty, and all the meaſures connected with it, had this ſingle point for their end:—could I, deeply pledged for the fulfilment of this treaty, ſubſcribe to the total ſubverſion of theſe meaſures, at the very moment of their completion in the termination of the year preſcribed and allotted for their operation? I could not; I ought not. Therefore I thus obſtructed the whole, of courſe the parts

60 A loan
12 for four additional regiments
10 the ſum in this charge.
—
Total 82
—

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parts of that whole, for the reasons above assigned, and no other whatever. Whether such preference, so given to a previous claim, was criminal or meritorious, rests with the honourable Board to declare, when they recollect that retarding neither expunges or diminishes a claim. Permit me here to subjoin, had the 10 lacks been uninvolved with the 72, or had the aggregate sum not been required within the period left for liquidating the balances intrusted to me, or had not the Assets lodged in my hands for this purpose been the sole funds from which such payment could be attempted, so far from impeding even for a moment such a claim, I should have been the first to support and urge it to its completion.

* * * * * * * *

5th CHARGE.

For further neglect of duty, in not having written a single letter to this government, during the absence of Mr. Middleton from his station at Lucknow, to report the state of the provinces, or of the Vizier's dominions, or to mention any one occurrence of those parts notwithstanding the important events which took place during that interval, from the contentions which ensued upon the decease of Nudjiff Cawn, and the disturbances in the Vizier's country; from the defection and flight of Al-

ANSWER.

Mr. Middleton left Lucknow the 18th June, and returned the last of August. The duty he intrusted to me was limited and restricted to closing the balances. In which he requested Major Palmer, to whom he made over the political department, to assist me with his support, if I called for it. The line was specially drawn. The political information of course rested with the political agent. He attended the Durbar, where my business never called me. In my line nothing new or remarkable occurred during the

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mas Ally Cawn, one of his principal Zemindars with a considerable treasure and force; from the refractoriness and disobedience of other Zemindars; and from other causes, which the Board have since been informed of; and for not mentioning the disaster which happened to two battalions of the Vizier's troops at Daranagur, all which the Board obtained no knowledge of, but from private information.

the period above mentioned. The death of Nudjiff Cawn, with all its consequences actual and probable, had been fully laid before the Board; and the Governor-general, in the Resident's letters of the 9th 10th April to the Governor, the same date and 15th to the Council, and again in several letters immediately after his return upon resuming the respective charges intrusted to Major Palmer and me. With respect to the Vizier's dominions, nothing new happened in the constantly turbulent state of the Zemindars of a country where the rents are collected at the point of the sword. Many rumours were spread of the intended disaffection and flight of Almas Ali Khân. The Resident immediatly after his return, informed the Governor-general (date 7th September) that he had ascertained them to be groundless reports. While I was acting, during which time the rumour first began, I had always an agent with him. His chief manager and most confidential agent was always with me, and with the Minister; who likewise had an agent constantly with Almass. The Minister's intelligence uniformly agreed with mine. I never lost an opportunity to compare them; and neither of us, I will confirm by oath, ever believed him beyond the Nabob's limits. What I offer to confirm and attest, is

is my own belief, with the Minister's consonant declarations made to me; and I trust, that the united testimony of Mr. Middleton, the Minister, and myself, will be received by the Board, as equal, if not superior in weight, to that of others, who cannot have had channels of information so much to be depended upon as those I have stated. However, my belief, well or ill grounded, being what I have stated, I could not have informed the honourable Board of an act I discredited.

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But ere I can call for their decision, I must proceed to explain a point with which I am not charged, but with which I must now charge myself, as I find it solely laid to Mr. Middleton. He is accused with anticipating the revenues, and loading them with an usurious interest upon an advance made to him, and brought to credit in his account. This crime originated with me. He only sanctified it by his authority. The greater share, if not the whole of the blame it may incur, must therefore rest on me. The total sum consisted of two parts, nearly halves, 25 lacks each; one was a negociation of the balances due from the different Aumils, agitated and settled by the Minister himself; the other, an anticipation of rents assigned to pay a banker for the advance he made of the amount required and negociated. The charge is or should be therefore confined to this last. The whole transaction will of course be fully stated by Mr. Middleton, as it stands included in his charges. All that I here mean to explain is, that the rents anticipated by assignment to the banker, in other words, the funds upon which the advance was made, were not the rents of lands upon which the Company had ever received their assignments, or which had ever supplied the Nabob's treasury and wants, but the resumed rents of rebellious and other Jaguerdars (chiefly Letafuts, Begums, and Salar Jungs) forming an entire new fund, now, and never before, brought into the Nabob's and Company's coffers by this plan; it became therefore in so much a net gain to the Nabob. The plan, in other respects, had it met with encouragement,

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opened a new channel of resource upon emergent occasions to the Nabob and the Company. The Bankers, properly noticed and rewarded for an advance of 50 lacks (an instance I believe never before equalled) would have been ready upon a repetition of the call. The interest termed Usury by the Board was the usual interest of the country where the loan was made. The established interest of a country is no usury in that country, whatever it may be deemed in others. But had the interest been usurious or high, the Nabob paid it, not from his own resources, deficiencies in which could afterwards be felt by his allies, but from new funds. He would gladly have paid it from his own, to answer the great purposes effected by it. It enabled him to fulfil a treaty, a treaty of the highest concern to him; a treaty for the performance of which himself, his Minister, and the Resident, stood pledged—the completion of which comprised a great benefit to the Company. They were in want of money—the treaty was calculated to answer this want, and this plan to fulfil the treaty; therefore, had even the Nabob's own usual resources, or even those usually assigned to the Company, been in reality anticipated, such anticipation would have been an advantage to the Company, by an advanced payment, and not a *detriment* or injury, upon which alone the disapprobation of the Board can be grounded. I therefore now hope that this explanation will induce the approbation instead of censure of the Board upon this measure.

(Signed) R. JOHNSON.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 21st October 1783.

THE Governor-general delivers in the following minute on Mr. Middleton's defence.

I have not time to examine Mr. Middleton's defence on the charges against him. My letters, which were written to him on the different occasions which drew on him the declarations of my dissatisfaction with his conduct, and his in reply, ought to be read with his defence, and will afford both equally the strongest evidence against him. His defence appears to me rather an elusion of the charges than an answer to them. This observation will particularly apply to the 5th Article, and his reply. I was pointed in my orders to Mr. Middleton, that he should not allow any negociation or forbearance, when he had once employed the Company's influence or power in asserting the Nabob's claims on the Begums for the recovery of his father's treasures. My principal, if not sole inducement for this order, which, with the instructions

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tions following it, was as abſolute as it could be expreſſed, was to prevent the imputation, which is too frequently, with whatever colour of reaſon, caſt on tranſactions of this nature, begun with demands of ſums of money to an enormous amount, ſupported with a great military parade, and denunciations of vengeance for a refuſal, and all relenting into the acceptance of perſonal ſubmiſſion and promiſe of amendment: In plainer words, I did not chooſe to be made the inſtrument of private rapacity, if any ſuch deſign exiſted; nor to expoſe myſelf to the obloquy of it, if ſuch a deſign did not exiſt. My order was abſolute, and allowed of no reaſoning upon it. It required a rigid and ſcrupulous obedience; and Mr. Middleton, without ſcruple or heſitation, and even without a reaſon aſſigned, diſobeyed it.—I perceive that Mr. Middleton has alluded, as Mr. Johnſon has alſo done, to certain unexplained claims made on the Nabob Vizier by Mr. Palmer, amounting to 82 lacks of rupees: as neither explain them, but ſpeak of them as points of undoubted credit, I think it proper to declare my doubt and diſbelief of them, and to aſſign my reaſons, as far as I I can in remote recollection of the little which I have ever known concerning them. Ten lacks of this ſum have been explained by me to relate to a proviſion to that amount actually made, and, as I have ever underſtood, delivered to the Reſident for its deſtined appropriation.

Fifty lacks are ſtated by Mr. Johnſon as a loan propoſed to be received from the Nabob. Major Palmer had no orders from me to exact ſuch a contribution from the Nabob. It was the general belief that Hyder Beg Cawn and Almas Ally Cawn poſſeſſed much private wealth: and as the means of ſecuring private wealth in India conſiſt only in two very hazardous expedients—Firſt, by depoſiting it with ſhroffs or bankers, who may fail, or refuſe to return the truſt; and ſecondly, by burying it in the bowels of the earth, from whence it never returns to its proprietors—I deſired Major Palmer to explain to both the nature and currency of the Company's intereſt notes, and perſuade them to inveſt their money in thoſe better ſecurities. I have a very faint recollection of ſomething like a propoſal to unite the Nabob's name in the tranſaction; but it ended without effect, nor could it at any time have been conſidered as a ſpecific demand. The remaining twenty or twenty-two lacks was, as I believe, the eſtimated expence of an eſtabliſhment of Sepoys, propoſed to be raiſed for the purpoſe of defending the Nabob's internal dominions, but neither was this, or could it, be a ſpecific demand, for I diſcouraged it as

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ſoon as it was made known to me, and it went no further than mere ſpeculation.

As Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon have ſwelled the amount of the current demands, by an exceſs of 82,00,000 rupees, ſo has Mr. Middleton added to his receipts 26 lacks which do not belong to them, being an anticipation of the revenue of the ſucceeding year. I am unable to proceed further in my remarks: but I muſt formally declare, that Mr. Middleton is, in my judgment, guilty of all the charges which have been preferred againſt him.

The Governor-general delivers in the following obſervations on Mr. Johnſon's defence.

Mr. Johnſon had no authority to recommend the perſons for appointments to the office of Aumils; my inſtructions, which he quotes, allow him only a negative power, and was well underſtood by Mr. Johnſon to apply to the Nabob's orderlies, a mean and wretched crew, whom his diſgraceful partiality had admitted to such truſts. Mr. Johnſon, by acknowledging that he did recommend perſons for ſuch appointments, and that he ſupported his recommendations by urgent and reiterated importunity, proves the ſubſtantial part of theſe charges againſt himſelf.

3d.—I am morally certain that Zaidads or Aſſets for 10 lacks, either in aſſignments of land or in bills, had been prepared, and were in the charge or poſſeſſion of Mr. Middleton before Major Palmer's arrival, and left with Mr. Johnſon on Mr. Middleton's departure. This ſum was declaredly given for my uſe, but never accepted by me; the only advantage I made of the offer was to requeſt the Nabob to transfer it, with the obligation ſtill reſting with equal weight upon my gratitude for the original deſtination of it, to the Company, for the relief of their preſſing neceſſities. The rectitude of this tranſaction depends eſſentially upon principles which every man feels and acknowledges in his own breaſt, but can hardly be judged by the teſt of any official rule; it might indeed have added to the Company's claims on the Nabob; but I am not ſorry that Mr. Johnſon choſe to defeat my intentions, ſince it would have added to the Nabob's diſtreſſes, but with no immediate relief to the Company. If in his own breaſt he can view the ſecret motives of this tranſaction, and on their teſtimony approve, I alſo acquit him, as I do acquit him of the charge on public ground.

Mr.

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Mr. Johnſon having involved this ſubject with other pretended claims, which I believe to be miſrepreſented, I cannot reply to them with a certain knowledge. This can only be obtained from Major Palmer, but their object is not worth the trouble or delay of ſuch a reference.

4th.—The fourth charge is proved by the known ſtate of the country, the diſſenſions that prevailed between Mr. Johnſon and the Nabob Vizier, and by the total neglect of all communication from Mr. Johnſon with this government during the period of his charge.

5th.—The defeat and diſperſion of two of the Nabob Vizier's battalions, which Mr. Johnſon acknowledges, but calls a fray; the notoriety of Almaſs's defection; the inſolence of the treaty concluded by him with his maſter; the fears expreſſed by Mr. Anderſon for the iſſue of his negociations, leſt they ſhould be impeded by the diſtracted ſtate of the Nabob Vizier's dominions, and the lengthened hoſtilities with the rebel Bulbudder, which have but recently ſubſided with his death, are all proofs of the truth of this charge. Of the inſtructions left by Mr. Middleton to Major Palmer, inveſting him with the political agency, I never knew, nor do I believe Major Palmer accepted ſuch a truſt, if ſuch a truſt was ever offered.

6th.—I cannot examine this charge in its full extent by the military returns. He ſays, he obtained two battalions from the ſtation of Cawnpore to oppoſe the rebellion of Bulbudder: but he never apprized the Board of this, and my orders were moſt peremptory and explicit upon this ſubject. It matters not that the terms of the charge reſtrict it to the brigade of Cawnpore, His diſobedience is equal, from whatever command the detachment was withdrawn.

7th.—Of this charge Mr. Johnſon is clearly acquitted upon the whole:—Though I have ſtrictly delivered my opinion on Mr. Johnſon's defence, I muſt add, that I think he has been ſufficiently puniſhed by the deprivation of his office, and by the ſeverity with which it was immediately effected.—" Not to be worſt ſtands in ſome " rank of praiſe."—His faults ſink to mere errors and inadvertencies, when compared with thoſe of his principal, and are wholly loſt in the contraſt with thoſe of the preſent Reſident.

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To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton.

Sir,

I am directed by the honourable the Governor-general and Council to acquaint you, that they have attentively read your anſwer to the charges prepared againſt you, and that they are of opinion you have by no means acquitted yourſelf of the facts alledged therein; but as the whole will be in reference before the honourable the Court of Directors, they leave it to them to decide finally upon your conduct.

Fort William, I am, &c.
21ſt October.

Approved, The Governor General.
Approved, M'P.

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Extract of General Letter from Bengal; dated 30th December 1783.

Par. 6. Mr. Nathaniel Middleton has requeſted to be mentioned to you reſpecting his conduct and ſervices previous to his removal from Oude; and the Governor-general having given in a minute conveying his approbation of both to that period, we beg leave to refer you to it, and to add our favourable opinion of his abilities and temper.

TWO LETTERS FROM THE NABOB VIZIER.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 15th of February 1781.

THE Governor-general lays before the Board the following letter from the Nabob Vizier.

From the Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah: Received 1ſt Feb. 1781.

All the officers ſtationed with the brigade at Cawnpore, Futty Ghurr, Darunghur, and Furruckabad, and other places, write Perwannahs, and give poſitive orders to the Aumils of all theſe places reſpecting the grain, and from which conduct the whole country will become depopulated. I am hopeful from your friendſhip that you will write to all theſe gentlemen not to iſſue orders, &c. to the Aumils, and not to ſend troops into the Mahals of the Sirkar; and for whatever quantity of grain, &c. they may

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may want, they will inform me and the Refident, and we will write it to the Aumils, who fhall caufe it to be fent them every month, and I will deduct the price of them from the Tuncahs; this will be agreeable both to me and the Ryotts.

From the Nabob Vizier to Rajah Gobind Ram.

I fome time ago wrote you the particulars of the conduct of the officers, and now write them again. The officers and gentlemen who are at Cawnpore, Futty Ghurr, and Darunghur, and other places, by different means act very tyrannically and oppreffively towards the Aumils and Ryotts, and inhabitants; and to thofe who require a Duftuck, they give it with their own feals affixed, and fend for the Aumils, and punifh them, if they fay any thing; the gentlemen make ufe of but two words—One that is for the brigade; and the fecond that is to adminifter juftice. The particulars of it are thefe, that the Bepparies will bring their grain from all quarters, and fell for their livelihood. There is at prefent no war to occafion a neceffity for fending for it. If none comes, whatever quantity will be neceffary every month, I will mention to the Aumils, that they may bring it for fale; but there is no deficiency of grain. The gentlemen have eftablifhed Gunges for their own advantage, called Colonel Gunge, at Daranghur, Fut Ghurr, &c. The collections of the cuftoms from all quarters they have ftopped, and collect them at their own Gunges; each Gunge is rented out at 30,000 or 40,000 rupees, and the collections paid to the gentlemen; they have eftablifhed Gunges where there never were any, and where there were, thofe they have abolifhed. 30,000 or 40,000 rupees is the fum they are rented at; the collections, to the amount of a lack of rupees, are ftopped. Major Brifcoe, who is at Daranghur, has eftablifhed a Gunge, which is rented out for 45,000 rupees, and has ftopped the Gauts round about the Bipparies; and merchants coming from Cafhmere, from Sehanabad, and bringing Shawls, and other goods and fpices, &c. from all quarters, he orders to his Gunge, and collects the duties from the Aumils, gives them a chit and a guard, who conducts thefe about 500 cofs. The former duties are not collected. From this conduct at Cawnpore, Futty Ghur, Furrikabad, &c. the duties from the Zilla of Gora and Itchawa are deftroyed, and occafions a lofs of three lacks of rupees; and the loffes which are fuftained in Furrukabad may be afcertained by the Nabob Mozutter Jung, to whom complaints are every day made: exclufive of the Aumils and

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collectors, others lodge complaints. Whatever I do, I desire no benefit from it. I am remediless, and silent from what happens to me. I know that worse will happen in other places. The second word I know is from their mouth only: this is the case. In this country formerly, and even now, whatever is to be received or paid among the Zemindars, Ryotts, and inhabitants of the cities, and poor people, neither those who can pay, or those who cannot, ever make any excuse to the Shroffs; but when they would pay, they did. In old debts of fifty years, whoever complain to the gentlemen, they agree that they shall pay ¼, and send Dustucks and Sepoys to all the Aumils, the Chowdries, and Canoonges, and inhabitants of all the towns; they send for every body to do them justice, confine them, and say they will settle the business. So many and numerous are these casualties, that I know not how much room it will take up to mention them. Mr. Briscoe is at Darunghur, and the complaints of the Aumils arrive daily. I am silent now Mr. Middleton is coming here; let the Nabob appoint him for the settling all those affairs, that whatever he shall order those gentlemen, they will do. From this every thing will be settled, and the particulars of this quarter will be made known to the Nabob. I have written this, which you will deliver to the Governor, that every thing may be settled; and when he has understood it, whatever is his inclination, he will favour me with it. The Nabob is master in this country, and is my friend—there is no distinction.

Written the 12th Zekaida.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 4th June 1781.

Extract of Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Middleton.

I HAVE received your letter requesting leave for a battalion to be raised by Captain Clarke, on the same footing as Major Osborne's was, agreeable to the requests and complaints of Ismael Beg, the Aumil of Illahabad, and in compliance with the directors of the council. You are well acquainted with the particulars and negociation of Ishmael Beg's, and the nature of Mr. Osborne's battalions. At the beginning of the year 1186 (1779) the affairs of Illahabad were given on a lease of 3 years to Ishmael Beg, together with the Purgunnahs Arreel and Parra; and I gave orders for troops to be stationed and raised conformable to his request. Ismael Beg accordingly collected 1200 Peons, which were not allowed

allowed to the Aumil of that place in the year 1185. The reason why I gave permission for the additional expence of 1200 Peons was, that he might be enabled to manage the country with ease, and pay the money to government regularly. I besides sent Mr. Osborne there to command in the Mahals belonging to Illahabad, which were in the possession of Rajah Ajeet Sing, and he accordingly took charge of   Afterwards, in obedience to the orders of the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, Jelladut Jung, he was recalled, and the Mahals placed, as before, under Rajah Ajeet Sing. I never sent Mr. Osborne to settle the concerns of Illahabad, for there was no occasion for him; but Mr. Osborne of himself committed depredations and rapines within Ishmael's Beg jurisdiction. Last year the battalion which, by the permission of General Sir Eyre Coote, was sent, received orders to secure and defend Ishmael Beg against the encroachments of Mr. Osborne; for the complaints of Ishmael Beg against the violences of Mr. Osborne had reached the General and Mr. Purling, and the Governor and gentlemen of Council, at my request, recalled Mr. Osborne. This year, as before, the collections of Areel and Parra remain under Ishmael Beg. In those places some of the Talookdars and Zemindars, who had been oppressed and ill-treated by Mr. Osborne, had conceived ideas of rebellion. I therefore spoke to you, and wrote to Colonel Morgan, requesting that a battalion might be sent for a short time; but on account of the actual state of affairs, and in obedience to the orders of the Governor-general and Council, Colonel Morgan had collected his army in one station, and could not detach a battalion.

Correspondence between Mr. Anderson and Mr. Bristow, relative to Mirza Junglee, Brother to the Nabob of Oude.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. David Anderson to Mr. John Bristow; dated Camp, near Gualear, 9th February 1783.

YESTERDAY Myrzee Junglee, a brother of the Nabob's, arrived in this Camp; it is said that he left Myrza Shuffy in disgust—whatever objects he may have in view they will not long be concealed, and I imagine, I shall be able in my next letter to give you an account of them.

. . . . Myrza

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.... Myrza Junglee, after ftanding for fome time on punctilio with Scindia, regarding the compliments of the firft vifit, has at length had an interview; he was received with fome marks of attention, and had a private conference of fome length. As far as I have been able to learn, he left Myrza Shuffle on a fudden, in difguft, with a few followers connected with him by the fimilarity of their fortunes and difpofitions, and came to this camp without having concerted any plan, or taken any previous meafures to infure a favourable reception; the only object he feems to have at prefent, is to obtain fome eftablifhment for his maintenance from Scindia. I believe as yet he has received very little encouragement; and his followers already begin to fpeak of advifing him, according to their different opinions, either to have recourfe to the Englifh government, or to fly to Nizar Ally, or fome of the princes of the Deccan; with whom it is fuppofed that the name of his father will ftill have fufficient weight to procure him a provifion for his fubfiftence; at all events it feems to be the opinion of his followers, that nothing will ever induce him to have recourfe to the Vizier, or to truft himfelf within his power.

Extract of a Letter Mr. A. to Mr. B.; dated Camp, near Bhet, 6th March 1783.

Myrza Junglee fent yefterday for one of my people, and told him, that when he left Myrza Shuffy he intended to go directly to Calcutta, and throw himfelf on the generofity of the Englifh; but that fome of his followers fuggefted, that he would certainly be ftopped by the officers commanding the troops, and delivered up to his brother the Vizier; that he therefore refolved to come here with a view of interefting Scindia and me to intercede with the Governor in his favour, or at leaft getting fuch letters from me, as would ferve to protect him on the way to Calcutta; that accordingly, with thefe views, when he firft came here he pitched his encampment clofe to mine, although it was then a mile and an half feparate from Scindia's; but that foon after finding, that any intercourfe with me would not be very agreeable to Scindia, he had removed the main encampment, and his neceffities being extremely preffing, he had thrown himfelf on Scindia, who had for the prefent given him a fcanty relief, and had promifed to confer a confiderable Jagheer on him hereafter, if he would engage in his fervice, and raife a body of troops. Myrza Junglee added, that all his followers were averfe to his going to Calcutta, as fuch a meafure would infallibly cut off all their profpects; but

but that for his part he was determined on it at all events, rather than trust to the promises of the Marattas; and he declared, that if I would give him the smallest encouragement, he would quit all his followers, and come alone, and take up his residence under my protection.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Bristow to Mr. David Anderson; dated Lucknow, the 26th March 1783.

I have in consequence of your letters of the 9th and 20th ultimo, and of the 6th instant, solicited permission for Myrza Junglee to return, representing the disgrace attending his seeking for subsistence at foreign courts, and the numberless indignities he must expose himself and the Vizier to from such a conduct. I hope I shall be able to succeed, but the utmost allowance he can expect at present will be two thousand rupees a month, being the sum allowed his Excellency's other brothers and sisters, of whom there are now living at least thirty-three. I have endeavoured to persuade his Excellency to place them upon a respectable footing, and pay their allowances regularly: some payments have lately been made at my intercession; and if Myrza Junglee returns, I think he may depend upon regularly receiving the allowance I propose. You will do me the favour to sound him, and inform me if he approves the proposal.

. . . . . I had the pleasure of informing you on the 26th, of the terms upon which I proposed that Myrza Junglee should return: I now enclose you the Vizier's and my Dustreechs, granting him permission: if he should want any moderate sum to bear his expences on the road, oblige me by granting it, and I will answer your bill.

The Nabob refused his assent to my applications at first, upon the plea that Myrza Junglee had not addressed him; he expected this mark of respect, and expressed a desire that Myrza Junglee should be considered as dependant upon himself, and not return upon the footing of Saadut Ally: this matter may be easily settled to his Excellency's satisfaction, by asking Myrza Junglee for an Arzee to his brother before you deliver him the Dustucks —his conduct before he left Lucknow was that of a wild young man, but I never heard any thing to his prejudice in other respects. He went to try his fortune at other courts, in preference to starving at home, which might have been his fate by all accounts at this place.

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Copy of a Letter from Mr. David Anderson to Mr. John Bristow; dated Camp, near Gualier, 6th April 1783.

I am favoured with your letters of the 26th and 28th March, and have communicated the contents of them to Myrza Junglee, intimating at the same time, that as I had understood he had formed some connections here, so nothing of what you proposed could take place through my interference, unless Scindia acquisced in his leaving him.

I have now the pleasure to inclose a letter from Myrza Junglee to you, and an Arzee to the Nabob, which I hope will obviate all his Excellency's scruples in point of respect. Alla Reza Cawn, who has now the chief direction of Myrza Junglee's affairs, came to me this morning, and informed me, that Scindia had offered to settle on him a Jagheer of the districts of Punchemohal, amounting to 40,000 rupees per annum, to be held in the name of his son Bourhan ul Dien Hyder, as a provision for the subsistence of his Begum and family, to give him personally an allowance for 60,000 rupees per annum, for keeping up a Ressallah of horse three hundred horse, and to put under his command a battalion of infantry, to be paid directly from Scindia's treasury. Alla Reza said, that his master had hitherto declined to accept of these offers, being desirous of rather availing himself of the friendship you have indicated towards him; he seemed however to be under some apprehension lest his brother should have some treacherous intentions of either confining or killing him. I observed, that if you had not been very well assured of the fairness of his Excellency's intentions, you would never have joined in inviting him to Lucknow, and that this consideration ought to make him perfectly satisfied. Alla Reza said, that this was very just—he then objected to the smallness of the sum proposed for him, it was not only inadequate to his expences, but infinitely less than what his Excellency had settled on many persons of very inferior rank, who have not so good a claim to his support. I answered, that from what you had written there was not the least reason to expect at present that the allowance would be encreased. He then said, that what was proposed would not be sufficient to enable him to live at Lucknow, where all his friends and relations were, and where so many of his inferiors lived in a greater degree of affluence; in case therefore it could not be encreased, he requested that you would procure him permission to live at Etayah, Allahabad, or Patna, or to go down to Calcutta, or to continue here with me;

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in any of these situations, he said, he could with less difficulty regulate his expences, so as to be able to live on his Excellency's allowance. I promised to write to you on this subject, and Ally Reza said, that on receiving your answer and his Excellency's, if this request was granted, he would immediately embrace the offer which you have made to him, and quit all his prospects here of Scindia's concurrence. Myrza Junglee seems to have no doubt. I am, however, apt to think, that Scindia will use every effort to detain him here; but I must make his concurrence a necessary condition, as it otherwise be will said I had seduced away a person, if not actually engaged in his service, remained in his camp with that intention.

If I may offer my advice, I would recommend that his Excellency should allow Myrza Junglee to reside at Ellahabad, and direct the Aumil to pay him attention. I have seen him only once, but as far I can learn, he conducts himself with great propriety. He has lately dismissed the greater part of his followers.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Bristow to Mr. David Anderson; dated Lucknow, 22d April 1783.

I HAVE been favoured with your letters of the 6th instant.

The proposition relative to Myrza Junglee was not very well received; the Vizier is disinclined to the granting his permission for him to reside at Ellahabad, or any frontier station. It is earnestly wished, that he should return to Lucknow, as he would then be considered entirely dependent on the Nabob;—his residence at any place than the capital is considered as subject to many objections, from the influence a man of his birth must unavoidably have in such a situation. I yesterday had a final conversation with the Minister on the subject; and he at last assured me, that I should be certain of the Vizier's approbation for Myrza Junglee to retire to any part of the Company's provinces, particularly Patna; which agrees with one of the alternatives you have proposed: the Minister was particularly anxious, that you should be informed of the impossibility of the encrease of the proposed allowance of two thousand rupees per month; and requested that I would repeat what I had before advised you of, in my letters on the subject, that previous to his departure from Scindia's camp, you would be particular in impressing on his mind, that if at any future period the Vizier's finances would admit of any further consideration, it should be considered only as a mark of his bounty, and not of right. I have addressed the Board for their

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permission for Myrza Junglee to retire within the Company's provinces, provided you should, in consequence of his letter, obtain Scindia's consent, and settle the matter in other respects to the satisfaction of all parties.

True copies.

(Signed) J. NEAVE, Assistant.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-general, and the Members of the Supreme Council, Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I HAVE now the honour to inclose you bills of exchange, agreeable to the accompanying list, of fifteen lacks of Calcutta Sicca rupees (Ca. Sa. Rs. 1,500,000) borrowed upon the plan proposed in my address of the 3d instant. Every exertion shall be made to supply you with the most ample resources, but the certain and only mode of securing them, is to regulate the abuses of the Vizier's government, render the Nabob's situation really affluent and dignified, and not suffer a designing minister to usurp his authority, and perpetuate a system which is founded upon anarchy and a total want of œconomy. I cannot now in any one instance act with confidence; and I despair, as I have already represented to you, of accomplishing the great objects of my appointment, except by the immediate interposition of your authority, and your fullest support. The present critical season of the year, when every arrangement ought to take place, makes me anxious for your speedy decision, as a certain loss will attend delay. I have great satisfaction in informing you, that supposing I had the hearty assistance of the Minister, the situation of affairs is such, as would flatter me with every prospect of success in reducing the Vizier's powerful Aumils, and restoring the peace of the country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lucknow, 7th June 1783.

JOHN BRISTOW.
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I am honoured with your commands of the 29th ultimo, containing violent complaints preferred against me by the Nabob Vizier and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn; and shall transmit as speedily as possible my defence against each separate allegation.

I think it my duty, Gentlemen, to repeat the substance of my former representations, that such general distress and

and oppreſſion prevail throughout the country, and ſuch ruin attends upon every rank and claſs of men, owing to Hyder Beg Cawn's mal-adminiſtration, that unleſs a reform be vigorouſly enforced, the moſt ſerious conſequences are to be apprehended, both to the Vizier's affairs and the honourable Company's reſources. This, Gentlemen, is the ſeaſon of the year for regulating every abuſe, and Hyder Beg Cawn's view, in thus urgently ſoliciting my recall at ſo critical a period, needs no comment.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lucknow, (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.
13th June 1783. Reſident at the Vizier's court.

Instructions from the Governor-general to Mr. John Bristow.

Conſ. 21ſt April.

To Mr. John Briſtow.

Sir,

CONFORMABLY to the reference of the Board, I recommend and enjoin your ſtricteſt attention to the following inſtructions:

1ſt. The balance due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, partly from the negligence and inaccuracy with which the monthly accounts were drawn out, and partly from the inattention of the late Reſident, had been ſuffered to accumulate to an amount exceeding that at which it ſtood at the cloſe of the laſt year, notwithſtanding the ſpecial care which I myſelf had taken in my agreement with the Nabob Vizier, concluded on the 19th of September 1781, at Chunar, and my inſtructions delivered at the ſame time to the Reſident, ſince enforced with very peremptory and repeated orders. This obliged me lately to write, in very ſtrong and unuſual terms, both to the Reſident and to the Miniſter, and produced the effect of an immediate exertion and conſequent diſcharge of a part of the balance, and aſſurances of the ſpeedy payment of the remainder. I do not implicitely rely on theſe aſſurances, but conclude that on your arrival you will find either a large balance ſtill outſtanding of the laſt year's account, or that the whole has been paid off by encroachment on the current year's revenue. In either caſe, your attention will be equally required to the ſettlement of this year's aſſignment, unleſs it ſhall have been already accompliſhed. You will be careful to guard againſt fictitious eſtimates;

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estimates; and if any such shall appear in the assignments already formed, you will of course insist upon their being exchanged for others, or their Jumma reduced to their real value, and others added, to complete the sum of the year's demands; that is to say, the last year's arrears, the two subsidies of the current year, and the other sums for the payment of which our government has or shall have made itself responsible; so that at the close of the year the whole shall be entirely and completely discharged.

2d. You will observe a very considerable difference between Mr. Middleton's account and the corrected account delivered to him by the Accountant-general, and now in the possession of your accountant Mr. Wombwell; a difference nearly equal to thirty lacks of rupees. To the former, though made up with false calculations, gross omissions, and even balances falsely transferred from one month's account to the other, Mr. Middleton has pertinaciously adhered, affecting to call the difference a new claim upon the Nabob. I fear this may render it an unpleasant office to you to rectify his error, as I have no doubt that the same declaration which he has made to this government will have been made as a concession to the Nabob and his minister, and of course your demand for the difference treated as unjust, and formed on false pretences; but the real account is so clear, and the difference so self-apparent, that it will be impossible for the Minister to controvert or misunderstand them, however he may affect the latter.

3d. Endeavour to obtain an early and minute information of the state of the provinces of Owde especially, and the rest of the Nabob Vizier's dominions; and report the result of your inquiries to me, under the following heads, viz.

1st. Their government.
2d. Their military defence, and distribution of the Nabob's forces.
3d. Revenue.
4th. Disposition and actual conduct of the Zemindars, and the means taken for restoring and preserving the quiet of the country.
5th. The character and credit of the principal Aumils.
6th. Under this general head, I must also refer to your inquiry, and desire you will inform me, whether the sums lately levied, or affirmed to have been levied and brought to the Company's credit by Mr. Johnson, have been drawn from the revenue of last year, or borrowed,

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rowed, and assignments given for the repayment of the revenue of that year, or exacted by anticipations of the current revenue: one of which cases I very much suspect, because they must have been received at a season in which the regular collections are always at a stand.

7th. Also by what mode, and through what agents, these collections were made.

4th. Immediately on your arrival found the disposition of Hyder Beg Cawn: his conduct has for some time past been highly reproachable. Till within these three months, when Mr. Johnson assumed a large portion of his authority, he possessed, without controul, both the unparticipated and entire administration, with all the powers annexed to that government, the Nabob himself being, as he ever must be in the hands of some person, a mere cypher in his, and the sanction by which he exercised his authority; yet he has dared to use both the Nabob's name, and even his seal, affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written from him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and such as evidently tended to procure Hyder Beg's influence and interest, and even to make him assume a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own and earnest solicitations; such as the resumption of the Jagheers, and the seizure of his father's treasures, which had been so long suffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagements exacted from me at Chunar. On every occasion of this kind, the late Resident has been the faithful echo and support of the Minister's pretensions; I must therefore have recourse to you for the introduction of a new system in that government; nor can I omit, while I express my reliance upon you for this purpose, to repeat the sentiments which I expressed in the verbal instructions which I gave you at your departure, "that there can be no medium in the relation between the Resident and the Minister, but either the Resident must be the slave and vassal of the Minister, or the Minister at the absolute devotion of the Resident." Much as I am displeased at the conduct of the Minister, I impute it more to the sufferance of Mr. Middleton than to himself; and if he will submit to hold his office on such conditions as I require, I would certainly prefer him to any other man who could be nominated to his office,

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because he possesses abilities, and a knowledge of business. He exists by his dependance on the influence of our government; and above all, because a change of administration in a government so loose as that of Owde, where all the parts of it are held together by the exertion of actual power, and not by the springs of an established constitution, would be unavoidably productive of confusion, and loss of revenue: therefore it must be adviseable to try him by the mode of conciliation, in your final conversation with him, at the same time that it will be necessary to declare to him, in the plainest terms, the footing and condition on which he shall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of dismission, and a scrutiny into his past conduct, if he refuses it. In the first place, I will not receive from the Nabob, as his, letters dictated by the spirit of opposition; but shall consider every such attempt as the Minister's, and as an insult on our government: in the second place, I shall expect that nothing is done in his official character but with your knowledge and participation; at the same time, the first share of the responsibility will rest with you. The other conditions will follow distinctly in their places, because I consider you as responsible for them.

5th. No administration can be properly conducted without regular offices. In that of Owde there is not one, the whole being engrossed by Mr. Minister. Two are indispensably necessary; first, an office of collections; secondly, an office of treasury. I insist upon these establishments being formed immediately; and it must be your care to appoint such checks to each, that whatever sums are paid from the revenue shall be duly entered, and credit given for their exact amount in the office of collections: and in like manner, that no sums shall pass the treasury, without a similar controul. The heads of these offices must of course be under the general directions of the Minister in all points, excepting their accounts; for the fidelity of which they must be solely responsible, and made liable to the several punishments if they falsify them. What other officers may have been in use in the time of the Nabob Suja ul Dowlah, and at this time necessary, you will enquire, and either cause them to be re-established, or not, as it shall appear to be proper.

In this last description I include the Adawlets. You will find them recommended but conditionally in my instructions to Mr. Middleton. It is certain that the want of them, and the universal and extreme licentiousness occasioned thereby, is one of the most disreputable defects in the Nabob's government; yet I much doubt whether introduced into such a state at once and abruptly, they would

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would not add to the mifchiefs which they were intended to redrefs; for perhaps there is fcarce an individual who would not become immediately obnoxious to their authority, and I fear fcarce an individual capable of difcharging even a fmall portion of their decrees. While they do not exift, every man knows the hazard which he incurs in lending his money. Their eftablifhment might tend to deceive, by holding out the appearance of falfe affurances; and with refpect to oppreffions of every fpecies, unlefs each court was armed with a ftrong military force, it would not be in their power to prevent or punifh them; neither in that cafe is it certain they would not themfelves prove the greateft inftruments of oppreffion. The Aumils in the firft inftance, and the Munduls or chiefs of the villages ultimately, muft fupply this defect, as proper for your enquiry and confideration, but cannot give you any inftructions concerning it.

6th. Great care muft be taken in the choice of Aumils. I fhall not defcend to particulars, but enjoin one caution only, as indifpenfably neceffary, that no Aumil be appointed to a frontier ftation, without fuch pledge, or other fecurity, for compelling his perfonal appearance whenever required, as may infure, beyond a doubt, his obedience and fidelity; and both thefe and others, wherever ftationed, ought to have the means of felf-protection, and to be trufted and fupported.

7th. The means by which Almafs Ally Cawn has been permitted to acquire independency have been long feen, and the effects of it foretold by every perfon acquainted with the ftate of that government, except thofe immediately interefted in it. The late Refident has been his conftant advocate, and I lately underftand that, however truly, the Minifter difclaims all concern in this imprudent meafure. It is very extraordinary that his defection, his retreat to the frontier, the fubfequent negociations which paffed between him and the Nabob, the engagements concluded between them, which refemble more a treaty between equal ftates than a tranfaction between a fovereign and his vaffal, have all paffed without the leaft communication or report of them made to me by the Refident, or his affiftant, or the Minifter; and in a letter which I have lately received from the Nabob, the Minifter has had the prefumption to make the Nabob declare the whole to be falfe, and without foundation, and to affirm that every part of his dominion enjoyed the moft perfect peace and tranquillity. Upon this fubject, the behaviour of the Minifter is fo reprehenfible, that I think it incumbent upon me to let him know my fentiments of it: it will at leaft fhew him how thin the veil is by which

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he covers his own acts, and that fuch artifices will only tend to make them the more criminal, from the falfehood and duplicity with which they are affociated. As for Almafs Ally Cawn himfelf, the policy which has been obferved towards him has been fcandaloufly derogatory from the Nabob's dignity and intereft, and hurtful to the reputation of our government, as far as it is connected with it. If any engagement fhall actually fubfift between them at the time you have charge of the refidency, it muft, however exceptional, be faithfully obferved; but if he has been guilty of any criminal offence to the Nabob his mafter, for which no immunity is provided in the engagement, or he fhall break any one of the conditions of it, I do moft ftrictly enjoin you, and it muft be your fpecial care to endeavour, either by force or furprize, to fecure his perfon, and bring him to juftice: by bringing him to juftice, I mean that you urge the Nabob, on due conviction, to punifh him with death, as a neceffary example to deter others from the commiffion of the like crimes; nor muft you defift till this is effected.—I cannot prefcribe the means: but to guard myfelf againft that obloquy to which I may be expofed by a forced mifconftruction of this order, by thofe who may hereafter be employed in fearching our records for cavils and informations againft me, I think it proper to forbid, and proteft againft, the ufe of any fraudulent artifice or treachery to accomplifh the end which I have prefcribed; and as you alone are privy to the order, you will of courfe obferve the greateft fecrecy that it may not tranfpire: but I repeat my recommendation of it as one of the firft and moft effential duties of your office.

8th. From the practice which the late Refident and his deputy, and the minifter, feemed to have prefcribed to themfelves of withholding all official information from me, I have been under the neceffity of forming my opinion of the ftate of the Nabob's government upon private intelligence; but this, from its variety, from its concurrence, notwithftanding the various channels through which it has paffed, and above all from its notoriety, comes to me with all the weight which the higheft authority could give it. For fome facts I have the teftimony of fworn evidence; fuch are the tranfactions of the rebel Zemindars of Gooruckpore and Bareach in the infurrections of the laft year, which had for their immediate object the deftruction of Colonel Hannay, and the officers of his command; and, ultimately, the extirpation of the Englifh influence and power throughout the whole of the Nabob Vizier's dominions. The Zemindars who diftinguifhed themfelves on this occafion were Zalem Sing, Genoo Roy, and Perly Pall

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Pall Sing. I am well informed that theſe men have perſevered in their rebellious conduct, without deviation, to the preſent time, though the Nabob's, and not our government, is the object of it.—Repreſent to the Nabob, and effectually, the bad policy of ſuffering ſuch examples to paſs with impunity. Obtain his order for employing ſome ſure means for apprehending theſe Zemindars; and if it ſhall appear, on a fair and regular inquiry, that their conduct towards the Nabob (I paſs over that which regards ourſelves alone) has been ſuch as it has been reported to be, he ought, and you muſt inſiſt upon it, to puniſh them with death, and to treat with the ſame rigour every Zemindar, and every ſubject who ſhall be the leader in a rebellion againſt his authority. Severe as this injunction may appear at firſt ſight, it will be mercy in its effects, if the Nabob will adopt the policy, by inſuring the tranquility of his country, and ſaving the blood of his people; for the reſolution, once publiſhed, and enforced in a ſingle inſtance, will make it unneceſſary to proſecute it to a ſecond example.

9th. I have been informed by the late Colonel Hannay, that ſome time before his recall was determined, he had agreed to a ſettlement of 23 lacks complete, and without deductions, for the revenue of Goorookpore and Bareach for the preſent year, and that on his recall a new arrangement had taken place, in which a ſelection had been made of the moſt valuable Talooks or portions of this diſtrict, and that they had been diſtributed among the domeſtics and other favourites of the miniſter, and that the reſt had been farmed to one Aumil Abdool Beg, as I recollect, and the whole reduced to a Jumma of 18 lacks, from which a proviſion of future remiſſions was made for Seebundy anticipations, and Pymauly, or ravages committed during the late inſurrections. Theſe are facts of ſuch a kind as will confirm themſelves by their own evidence; and if you find them to be ſuch, it muſt be your care to correct the abuſe if you can, for the preſent, or at leaſt to apply the beſt remedy in your power to it, and reſtore their future Jumma to its real value. I ſhall not enter further or more minutely into the ſubject of the general collections, but I am particularly ſolicitous to aſcertain the real value of this diſtrict, for a reaſon which I will proceed to explain.

From the nature of our connection with the government of Owde, from the Nabob's incapacity, and the neceſſity which will for ever exiſt while we have the claim of a ſubſidy upon the reſources of this country, of exerciſing an influence, and frequently ſubſtituting it entirely in the place of an avowed and conſtitutional authority in the

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the adminiſtration of his government, and from the conſequences inevitable in ſuch a connected ſyſtem, directed as it muſt be under all the various changes and reſolutions incident to our government by men of various character, and degrees of capacity and integrity, the time will come when that claim ſhall accumulate to a ſum exceeding the Nabob's ability to diſcharge it, but by ſome ancient meaſures of accommodation, which may at the ſame time releaſe him from an intolerable burden, and yield to us a more rational and ſubſtantial, though leſs oſtenſible income. Such a reſource, and indeed in no other, would be afforded by aſſignment in property, and in perpetuity, of the diſtrict of Goorookpoor and Bareach, in lieu of all demands whatſoever for ſubſidy, even though the additional charge of extraordinary detachments furniſhed for the defence of his dominions were added to it. Such an accommodation, if even it ſhould take place, muſt be produced by a ſtrong neceſſity compelling it; for neither would the Nabob, weak as he is, ſubmit to yield to it now, nor would I, firmly convinced as I am of its expediency, recommend the acceptance of it at this time, while ſo ſtrong an apparent difference between the produce of the aſſignment, taken at its higheſt probable eſtimate, and the amount of the ſubſidy, exiſts as an objection to it. The annual claim of the ſubſidy being 34,020,000 rupees, and Colonel Hannay's Jumma of Goorookpore and Bareach, which muſt be taken at its higheſt rate, but at 23 lacks; but as an argument for the meaſure, if ever it ſhould become a ſubject of immediate conſideration, I will briefly add the advantages which will certainly accrue from it.

1. Its ſituation, bounded by a great and impaſſable river, the Dava, connecting with the Ganges, the boundary line of the moſt defenſible part of our dominions.

2. The means which it would afford us of putting a total ſtop to the continual inroads and ravages by which our own diſtrict of Sircar Sarum has been, and will be continually infeſted, from its open communication with the rude territory of the lawleſs Zemindars of Goorookpore immediately adjoining to it.

3d. A certain and improveable revenue, inſtead of a precarious demand on account, payable from a fund which I have ſaid muſt at ſome period prove inſolvent.

Having thus expoſed to you my views, I now leave them a charge on your recollection, recommending it to you to obtain all the inſight which you can into the ſubject, both with reſpect to its preſent revenue, to the improvement of which it would be capable in our hands, and

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and to the means by which the assignment itself could at a proper season be obtained.

10th. On the information of the defection of Almass Ally Cawn, of symptoms apparent of the like disposition in the Aumil of Rohilcund, and of the general anarchy which prevailed in every other part of the Nabob's dominions; the Board, though officially unapprized of these, as of every other subject requiring their knowledge of them, resolved and ordered that a strong detachment, under Colonel Sir John Cummings, should march into the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, both for its internal defence, and for the relief of the numerous detachments which we understood (and this also from private information only) have been made by the sole authority of Mr. Johnson, covered by the Nabob's formal requisition, from the army stationed at Cawnpoor: you will receive an order from the Board to notify to the commanding officer of every detachment, that its services are no longer required; which notification it will rest with your discretion to make on the instant in which you shall see that it can be done with safety; and a correspondent order will be sent to Colonel Morgan, to command the instant return of every detachment within four-and-twenty hours after the receipt of every such notification upon this subject. I desire you to bear in mind, that the army at Cawnpore, or in whatsoever part of the frontier it may be stationed, is appointed for the internal defence of the Nabob's dominions, and for that only; that this was its original destination intended by the treaty of 1773, commonly known by the treaty of Benares; and that every deviation from this object, and every diminution of its force, are impolitic and highly dangerous to our own existence, by the encouragement which it will afford to foreign invasion. I understand that at this time there are only two regiments of Sepoys left to support the small body of Europeans to which the strength of that station is now reduced.

Events may hereafter arise of so sudden and urgent an emergency, as to require a temporary deviation from this maxim; but it will be with the greatest reluctance and dissatisfaction that the Board will ever hear of such a disposition, and therefore you must be careful that the exigency be such from its urgency and necessity, as will clearly justify you in deviating from it, though but by the call of a single regiment of that station to any part of the Nabob's internal dominions; and on every such occasion you must be careful to comply with every formality enjoined by my instructions to Mr. Middleton, dated the 23d of September, and to transmit instant advice of

 it

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it to the Board, not waiting for the detail of your reasons, which, to prevent delays, may follow as you ſhall have more leiſure to form them.

I muſt make it my particular injunction, that ſuch a notification as I have mentioned above may be at all events inſtantly tranſmitted to the officer commanding the detachment ſent to Furruckabad, if my information be true, that ſuch a meaſure has been aſſumed by Mr. Johnſon, for which no pretext can juſtify him.

11th. What I have to ſay under this head is immediately connected with the concluding part of the preceding. From a ſolicitude to guard againſt any imputations to which the reputation of our government might be expoſed by its interference in the Nabob Vizier's claims upon the Nabob Mozaffer Jung, I made uſe of my influence with the miniſter, enforced by ſtrong injunction to the Reſident, that no force ſhould be exerciſed on that Nabob, nor any perſon ſent to uſurp the charge of his government and collections, while he continued to pay his ſtipulated annual tribute to the Vizier as it became due: the conſequence of this recommendation was, if I may credit the reports of the Reſident and the miniſter, that from the inſtant that the Nabob withdrew his interference, the Nabob Mozeffer Jung deſiſted from making his payment: you will know with certainty whether this report was true; if it was, you muſt leave the Nabob and the miniſter to act in this buſineſs in what manner ſoever they pleaſe, and entirely forbear from all interference in it.

12th. Mr. Middleton has written to the Board that Fyzoola Cawn has been making preparations for entering on open hoſtilities with the Nabob Vizier, and combining other perſons againſt him; I ſuſpect the information, but prudence requires to be prepared againſt the poſſibility of ſuch an event. It is poſſible that the apparent weakneſs may have excited Fyzoola Cawn to form ſuch a deſign; it is more probable that he has been driven to it by the public declarations and menaces both of the Reſident and the miniſter. I have written a letter to him, ſuch as I think beſt calculated to divert him from any ſuch undertaking, by aſſurances of the favourable diſpoſition of this government towards him, while he ſhall not have forfeited it by any improper conduct, and by ſtating to him the fatal conſequences which muſt attend his defection. That letter you will perhaps receive earlier than I ſhall be able to put you in poſſeſſion of theſe inſtructions; I ſhall only add, upon this head, that you muſt be guided by your own diſcretion in whatſoever relates to it; but be careful to prevent the Nabob's affairs from

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from being involved with new difficulties, while he has already ſo many to opprefs him.

13th. The ſeverities which have been exerciſed towards the Begums were moſt juſtly merited by the advantage which they took of the troubles in which I was perſonally involved the laſt year, to excite a rebellion in the Nabob's government, and to compleat the ruin which they thought was impending on ours. If it is the Nabob's deſire to forget and to forgive their paſt offences, I have no objection to his allowing them in penſion the nominal amount of their Jaghires; but if he ſhall ever offer to reſtore their Jaghires to them, or to give them any property in land after the warning which they have given him, by the dangerous abuſe which they formerly made of his indulgence, you muſt remonſtrate in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt it—you muſt not permit ſuch an act to take place, until this government ſhall have received information of it, and ſhall have had time to interpoſe its influence for the prevention of it.

14th. Study on every occaſion to conciliate the good-will of the Nabob, and ſhew him every oſtenſible and external mark of reſpect. I ſhould hope that with due attention you would not find it difficult to make him himſelf the mover of every act neceſſary, whether for the advancement of his own intereſts, or the diſcharge of his debts to the Company. But this can never be effected while the miniſter maintains that aſcendant over him which he at preſent holds by the means of a nearer and more private intercourſe, and by affecting to be the vindicator of his rights againſt the claims of our government. In my late engagement with the Nabob it was ſtipulated that a certain ſum ſhould be ſet apart monthly for his private expences, and this made a part of my inſtructions to Mr. Middleton. The ſum was afterwards fixed, as I recollect, of 30 lacks. It was my intention and direction, that this appropriation ſhould be made before any other, and this I make my preſent injunction to you; requiring alſo that you do make it a part of immediate and ſtrict inquiry, whether the Nabob has hitherto received the whole and punctual payment of the ſum aſſigned to this account, or any part of it has been withheld from him, whether with or without his concurrence. I mention this, becauſe, from ſome private information which I have lately received, I have reaſon to ſuſpect that this is actually the caſe. Whatever foundation there may be for this report, let juſtice be done to the Nabob; and if he has been deceived, undeceive him.

15th. The Nabob has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the indignity which he ſuffers in his authority,

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rity, by the ufurpations of the Company's Refidents; and has repeatedly demanded, that whenever the Company's balance fhall be completely difcharged, he may be freed from this vexation; that he may be permitted to pay the fubfidy in ready money; and that the affignments which have been granted to fatisfy that demand may be reftored him. I confefs that I did myfelf give encouragement to this propofition, knowing at the fame time the quarter from which it came, I mean from Hyder Hyder Beg; and willing to exonerate this government from the trouble and refponfibility, and the Company from the difgrace of whatever might attend the adminiftration of the Nabob's government. I thought too that it prefented a fure profpect of the regular payment of the current demands, by the penalty which would attend the failure, in the refumption of the former fyftem of affignments, and in the perfonal claims which it would lay on the minifter. But his mifconduct has fince manifefted itfelf in fo many particular inftances, befides the univerfal diforder of the country, and this is fo alarming in its effects to our government, that I fhall hefitate, until I have the fureft and moft fatisfactory grounds, to recommend an acquiefcence in fuch a meafure. At prefent the plea on which it is grounded is probably yet at fome diftance; for while I am writing thefe inftructions frefh circumftances occur to my knowledge, which make me much fufpect the real payment of the fums brought to the Nabob's credit for the laft year's balance. It may not, however, be amifs to talk with the minifter on this fubject, to let him know that it is well underftood to be a demand for fubftituting his authority in the place of the Company's, and to inveft him with the fovereignty of the Nabob Vizier's dominions;—to afk him, whether in fuch cafe he fhall expect the Company's protection? and if he does, by what claim of right? And whether, in the event of his involving our government in a new fcene of hoftilities, by thofe which his mal-adminiftration may produce, whether internally, or by invafion in that country, he fhall think himfelf in juftice exempt from the perfonal vengeance which we may be difpofed to exact from him?—At all events the propofition muft be difcouraged till a fafer feafon for its acceptance; but the abfolute rejection of it eluded with the Nabob, if he fhall himfelf renew it.

16th. For the reft I refer you to my inftructions to Mr. Middleton, to which, in every point not revoked or qualified by thefe inftructions, I muft require your moft attentive and literal obedience.

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17th. I do justice to my sense of your character, in declaring my entire reliance on your prudence and integrity, and to these I trust for your deviation from any part of these instructions at your discretion, in any instance which shall appear to you necessarily to require it; and instantly inform me, or the Board, according to the degree of its importance, that you have acted in such manner, with your reasons for it.

I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
Humble servant,
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Fort William,
23d October 1782.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Acting Sec. to the Secret Department.

Consultation, 29*th September* 1783.

THE Governor-general delivers in the following minute, containing his observations on Mr. Bristow's letter and defence:

It is with great regret that he offers a composition of such unusual length for a place in the consultations. It was written with a stronger regret, operating as a discouragement on his mind, and no less mortification, from the reflection of the incongruity of such a drudgery with the cares and functions which ought to be the occupation of the person filling up a station so important as that which he holds, had he the power of attending to the first, or discharging the latter. He solemnly declares, that the powers of this government are not in his hands, nor exercised by the principles which he professes. Disarmed of the means of averting, by an instant and decided act of authority, the evils which he has long since seen impending on the British character and interests, he has devoted himself to the labour of displaying them for the view of higher authorities, on whose wisdom and justice he securedly depends for their due retribution, if this representation shall arrive too late to produce the remedy which he hopes to derive from it—The ruin of a great dominion, the open violation of justice and public faith, the contempt reflected on this government from its representation, and reproach from the acts done under its authority, merited at least the labour of a few days for the production of the only resource which remained for their

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their removal, even from the firſt and executive member of the conſtitution, if they have not interfered with more urgent calls of his duty.—To him it has been the ſacrifice of a length of time which he reviews with pain.—He foreſees the conſequences to which it may lead, in the long interval which muſt precede its effects, but is prepared to meet them; and whatever may happen of the events which he dreads in the train of affairs now ſubſiſting, he ſhall at leaſt receive this conſolation under them, that he uſed his utmoſt exertions to prevent them, and that in the annals of the nations of India which have been ſubjected to the Britiſh dominion, he ſhall not be numbered among their oppreſſors.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Governor General.

It would have been unjuſt to have preſcribed to Mr. Briſtow, either the mode or bounds of his defence. I ſhall aſſume the ſame privilege in my examination of it, and by throwing aſide all the extraneous ſubjects, reaſonings of difficult or unimportant application, profeſſions of integrity, and ſounding declamation, which make up the bulk of the compoſition, endeavour to comprize all that is eſſential of the general ſubject in the following remarks.

On the 21ſt of April I laid before the Board two letters from the Nabob Vizier, and three from his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, all filled with various complaints of the conduct of Mr. Briſtow, the Reſident of this government at the court of the Nabob Vizier; as the conſtitutional channel of all political correſpondence I had no option, had I been ſo inclined, to ſuppreſs them.—They were as much the concern of the other members of the Board as my own; but as they perſonally regarded an individual highly patronized, and then recently withdrawn from that dependance on my own authority, with which I had endeavoured to accommodate my ſubmiſſion to the orders of the court of Directors in his appointment to the ſtation which he held, I foreſaw at once all the difficulties of the part which I had to act, both with reſpect to my immediate colleagues in office, and my ſuperiors at home.——Under this impreſſion I imparted the ſubject with much delicacy to the other members of the Board, but thought I ſaw in its reception a temper that boded little eaſe to my feelings in the proſecution of the charges, or juſtice in the termination of it.—The gentlemen of the Board muſt not be offended at this declaration; I mean not to allude to what paſſed when we were in private at the firſt communication of the complaints, but

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but to the first minutes which were delivered upon them on the 19th and 22d of the month following.——I had suffered all the intermediate delay, from a fear of irritation; and on the 19th of May I simply moved that the charges should be transmitted to Mr. Bristow, with orders to revoke all appointments made by him under the government of Nabob Vizier, and not appertaining to the duties and rights of his office.

On this question the members of the Board entered their separate opinions, agreeing to transmit the charges for Mr. Bristow's defence; but objecting to any other consequent act until he should have replied to them, as it appeared that he had not exceeded his instructions, and that the complaints were founded on interested motives.—Mr. Macpherson added to his opinion a proposal, that the similar charges should be drawn against Messrs. Middleton and Johnson, on which the Board had been partly induced to remove those gentlemen from the trust since committed to Mr. Bristow; and Mr. Stables, with a decision which seemed to preclude the necessity of any enquiry whatever, delivered it as his opinion, that, "in "justice and candour to the Nabob Vizier and his mi-"nister, the Board ought explicitly to declare, that they "could not on any account comply with the Vizier's "request, to grant him discretional powers over his "country, whilst such heavy debts remained due to the "Company."—I was silent, and the debate briefly closed without any resolution following it.

On the 22d of May I laid before the Board another letter from Hyder Beg Cawn, with narratives of conversations held between him and Mr. Bristow. I recapitulated what had passed with relation to the former papers, remarked on the minutes of the preceding council, and renewed the same question, which had been left undetermined. The other members entered their opinions, which amounted to a resolution, formally passed, to send to Mr. Bristow the charges, but not to revoke the appointments which he had made.—I protested; declared the instructions to be annulled which I had given to Mr. Bristow, and which had been pronounced a valid authority for his acts; requiring the other members to form other rules for his conduct more consonant to their own principles.

In the mean time Mr. Bristow having intimation of the first complaints against him, which had been laid before the Board on the 21st of April, addressed a letter to the Board, dated the 13th of May, and filled with general complaints against Hyder Beg Cawn, and a specific charge of having impeded his endeavours to establish a

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new plan, which he had formed for the adminiſtration of juſtice for the city of Lucknow and the dominions of Oude. This letter was received on the 29th of May, but the Board properly agreed to ſuſpend the conſideration of it till the receipt of his reply to the charges which had been preferred againſt him, and theſe were accordingly tranſmitted to him in a letter of that date, which was more than five weeks after their firſt delivery.

I ſhall detain the narrative in this place but to make one brief obſervation of the difference of Mr. Macpherſon's behaviour on this, from that which he ſhewed on a former occaſion, not very diſſimilar:—When Mr. Johnſon, acting in the place of Mr. Middleton, was accuſed of having appointed Aumils or collectors over the lands aſſigned by the Nabob Vizier for the payment of the Company's balance and growing debt, and of having aſſumed other acts of authority which appertained ſolely to the regular adminiſtration of the Nabob Vizier, I moved the Board to order his immediate recall, deeming it improper to expoſe a whole province to diſorder, and the credit of the Engliſh name to imputation, through a principle of delicacy to an individual, who might have time and freedom allowed for his defence, and, if innocent, might be both effectually acquitted by an act paſſed at any remote period of time, and receive full compenſation by appointment to an equal or higher poſt of credit. I well remember with what promptneſs theſe ſentiments were adopted by Mr. Macpherſon. My motion was delivered on the 7th of September, in a written meſſage to the Board, dictated from my bed, to which I was confined by a ſevere indiſpoſition. It paſſed unanimouſly on the ſame day, with orders correſponding, to Mr. Middleton the Reſident, announcing Mr. Johnſon's recall; to Mr. Johnſon, requiring his departure within 48 hours, on pain of arreſt; and to Colonel Morgan, the commanding officer at Cawnpoor, commanding him to ſend Mr. Johnſon a priſoner to Calcutta, if he exceeded the time preſcribed. Little more ceremony was obſerved towards Mr. Middleton, whoſe imputed miſconduct was the cauſe of his removal, though a ſcrupulous attention to the orders of the court of Directors was the ground of Mr. Briſtow's appointment to ſucceed him. Theſe were officers of my own nomination, and how favoured and ſupported by me, while their conduct appeared to merit it, the world well knows. When I ſaw cauſe to change my opinion of them, and thought their continuance in office of a pernicious tendency to the Company's intereſts, I moved, and Mr. Macpherſon gave his moſt hearty and unqualified

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unqualified voice, for their dismission, without allowing them an hour of grace for defence, or even for a reply. But when Mr. Bristow stood charged with the same acts, and other accumulated offences, Mr. Macpherson, the patron of Mr. Bristow, recommended that, on a principle of common justice, he should be heard on his defence; discredited the authority of the minister, which had divulged them; and intimated, I am sure not on a principle of common justice, that, during the process of the enquiry, Mr. Bristow's authority should be rendered effectual, that is absolute, and the minister's of course annihilated; yet the minister's was the same authority, and the chief, if not only authority, on which Mr. Johnson was removed, though that of the Nabob Vizier is added to the accusation of Mr. Bristow, and both his oath and his minister's tendered in support of them.

That I may not be charged with a misconstruction of Mr. Macpherson's words, I will subjoin them, in the following extract of his minute:

"It is my opinion, upon a principle of common justice, as well as from a regard to the Company's regulations, that copies of the Vizier's letters, and of those of Hyder Beg Cawn, containing complaints against Mr. Bristow, should be immediately sent to him for his information, and to prepare his defence against the complaints."——"And as the Resident is now under heavy accusations, probably for a necessary exercise of that power (the power of checking the influence of the minister) so it is evident that our government will stand in suspence, if it is not rendered * effectual at the court of Owde, during these contentions between the acting minister and our Resident."

On the 23d of June the Board received a letter from Mr. Bristow, dated the 13th, and acknowledged the receipt of the Board's orders of the 29th, with a promise of a speedy reply, and a declamatory recrimination of Hyder Beg Cawn.

* *I find, on comparing this extract with the original minute, that the word* effectual *has been erroneously written for* ineffectual, *which is the term used in the latter. As my observation applied immediately to the word* effectual, *I cannot now change it, and this note will suffice to do justice to the text; nor will it affect the fidelity of my observation, the meaning of both words being constructively the same; for Mr. Bristow had required the removal of Hyder Beg Cawn, on the plea that he should be unable to discharge the duties of his station effectually without it, and Mr. Macpherson's repetition of the plea is an implication of the same conclusion, or it stands for nothing.*

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The promise contained in this letter remaining unperformed on the 24th of July, I complained to the Board of this disrespect shewn to their authority; and, on the next council-day following, which was the 28th, I moved, "That Mr. Bristow, for disrespect to the Board, and "disobedience of the orders written to him by the Board, "on the 29th of May, and acknowledged by him on the "13th of June, in having to that time avoided or ne-"glected to reply to the same, should be removed and "recalled from his station and office at Lucknow."

I also moved, "That as the Nabob of Owd, in his "letter received on the 7th of April last, and laid before "the Board on the 21st of the same month, had desired "that Messrs. Bristow and Cowper, the actual Resident "and deputy appointed for the transaction of the Com-"pany's affairs at his court, might be recalled from "thence, and that he might be allowed the exercise of "discretional power for the management of his country, "and the payment of the Company's money or debt; "and had engaged, that on these conditions he should "pay the full amount of whatever should be due to the "Company, both of the past and growing debt, in such "manner as the Board should prescribe; that the office of "Resident at the court of the Nabob of Owd, with that "of the deputy and other subordinate parts of the same "establishment, excepting the office of Accomptant, "should be dissolved, and the Nabob of Owd, and his "minister Hyder Beg Cawn, made jointly responsible, "according to the terms of their letters, as set forth in "the extracts subjoined to my minute, for the payment "of the sums due to the Company for the present and "ensuing year Fussulee, ending in September 1784."

Mr. Macpherson being prevented by sickness from attending at the Board, it was proposed, and I yielded, to defer the decision of my question to the next meeting.

It must be remarked that, on the 7th of July, the Board received a letter from Mr. Bristow dated the 23d June, mentioning that he had been sick, and confined to his bed since the 20th of the same month; and this was pleaded as an excuse for his not having yet replied to the Board's commands of the 29th of May: and on the 28th of July the Secretary informed the Board that he had received another letter from him, dated the 16th, repeating the same excuse, with a promise that his reply should follow on the morrow, or next day at furthest.

On the 31st July the Board being fully assembled, passed a decided negative on my question, in both the terms of it. I was a little surprised to find something like an accusation brought against myself by Mr. Wheler,

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in an obfervation made by him in a minute produced at the Board, ftating, "that it was improper to fhift the "ground of the original charges to difrefpect;" adding, that "this was of all others the moft improper time to "leave the Nabob and the Company to the mercy of his "minifters."

I think the remark uncandid. Nine weeks had now paffed fince the Board had tranfmitted to Mr. Briftow a feries of accufations amounting to the general charge of his having ufurped the fovereign authority of the Subahfhip of Owd, and required his anfwer to them.—Under a pretext of a few days of ficknefs he had evaded the reply, and it yet remained a doubt whether he meant to make one. From the rumours which had arifen in the intermediate time, of approaching changes in this government, and the advantage which Mr. Briftow was faid in his imputed converfations with Hyder Beg Cawn to have made of them, I did believe, and do believe, that his object in the delay was principally to allow time for the rumours, if true, to be verified by their effect, and the enquiry, or the feverity of it at leaft, precluded by my removal from the government; though it might ferve for another purpofe, which I fhall fpeak of hereafter. It is certain that a fufficient time had paffed for Mr. Briftow to have made his defence, and for the Board to have received it, had his ficknefs been fuch as he reprefented it. In the mean time he retained the powers which he had ufurped; the credit of his influence was eftablifhed, to the difcouragement both of oppofition, and of any evidence which might have been produced againft him; he was in poffeffion of the privilege which forbids that a man accufed fhall be convicted unheard, with powerful advocates to maintain it; for even in the debates of this day, it was afferted in his favour, and on the ftrength of it he might maintain his ground unmolefted to any indefinite period. I have underftood it to be in many cafes a maxim of law, that if a man accufed before a tribunal competent for his trial fhall refufe to plead to the accufation, his refufal fhall be affumed to be equivalent to conviction: it is certainly contumacy, and as fuch, applied to the occafion and confequences of it, it merited both the punifhment of the offender, and that remedy for the public diforders attendant on it which the Board could apply; and thefe were the united principles and objects of my queftion. Was this a fhifting of the original charges? or when thefe were evaded, and the only alternative which remained was, either to let a criminal efcape with impunity, and deride the authority which had called on him for his

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defence; or to proceed to judgment against him—was it not strictly regular in me to propose the latter, and thus, by a decided act of government, to remove at once both the evil and its author?

Mr. Macpherson's objections to the question were, that he could not condemn Mr. Bristow unconvicted; that Mr. Bristow had been sick, and might have had other reasons for the delay; that he could not consent to the abolition of the residency, and "leaving to the Vizier "and his minister the powers which they required,"—without full security for the Company's interests, and the peace "of our frontiers;" adding a suggestion, which I do not well comprehend, relating to the re-establishment of the French in India.

I shall only take notice of that part of his minute which relates to Mr. Bristow's plea of sickness,—I am impelled by a sense of duty, superior to the consideration of personal tenderness, to declare, that the plea, even in the terms of it, is inadmissible, and that I believe it to be almost wholly without foundation. Mr. Bristow acknowledged the receipt of the charges in a letter dated the 13th of June.—On the 23d of June he wrote to the Board, that he had been sick, and confined to his bed since the 20th, that is little more than two days; and on the 16th of July he wrote to the secretary, that his indisposition had prevented him.—Surely his indisposition was not so violent in all that long period, but that, with the acknowledged benefit of one entire week of health, he might have found intervals of ease to finish that part of his defence which required his personal labour; for, abstracted from the copies of the original papers with which he has connected it, and which were the work of his official assistants, his defence alone might, in the judgment of any unbiassed reader, be rated as the composition of a very few days.—The expression of Mr. Bristow's letter to the secretary does not convey the idea of severe sickness; and I am glad of it, because I am morally certain that his sickness, whatever it was, was not of such a kind as to serve for the excuse to which he has applied it. I will give my reason for this conclusion:—when Mr. Bristow's last plea arrived, I asked Rajah Gobind Ram, the Vakeel of the Nabob Vizier, whether he had heard that Mr. Bristow was very ill? He answered me with such an air and tone of voice as usually accompany the expression of common information, that he had not; and that if Mr. Bristow had been very ill, he should surely have known it.—As my reply seemed to mark a doubt of his being truly informed, he brought me, I believe the next day, an extract of a letter from his correspondent at Lucknow, which advised him

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him of a slight disorder with which Mr. Bristow appeared to have been affected in February or March last; inferring from thence, that if Mr. Bristow had been seriously ill at a later period, his correspondent could not have failed to inform him of it, which he had not done.—Let not Rajah Gobind Ram be the object of displeasure to any one for the use which I have made of his evidence; for to this hour he knows not the purpose for which it was exacted, nor has, I am certain, a suspicion, that in a plain answer to an unimportant question, he was furnishing an argument of personal consequence to the gentleman to whom it related.

On the 11th of August Mr. Bristow's long-expected defence arrived, with a letter, dated the 30th of July.

It may not be unuseful, in this place, to recur to the documents which contain the charges against him: these will be found at large in the Nabob Vizier's letters, and in the letters and other papers of his minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, which were entered in the consultations of the 21st of April, and 22d of May. Those of the Nabob Vizier I shall here enter at large, referring for the others to the places in which they regularly stand, and to Mr. Bristow's transcript of them, annexed to his defence.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor-general. Letter the 1st: received the 28th March 1783.

Usual introduction.

From the commencement of the friendship between the late Nuvvaub and you, and the gentlemen of the Council, on this side there has been no deficiency. In consequence of the interchange of Turbans between you and the late Nuvvaub, I look up to you as the brother of my father. My country and my dwelling are yours. I have on all occasions studied your pleasure, and the satisfaction of the gentlemen of the Council; you on your part have still acted with the duties of friendship and affection, and I feel and acknowledge the obligation.

The disposition and conduct of Mr. Bristow were formerly known to you. You lately wrote to me, that having included him in the number of your chosen and select friends, you had sent him here; and Major Palmer, agreeable to instructions from you, returned from Cawnpore to Lucknow to advise and encourage me. This he did, recommending attention and regard to the inclination and satisfaction of Mr. Bristow.

Mr. Bristow, at his first interview, assumed the disguise of affability and kindness. His first proposal was, that I should entrust him with the management of my house-

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hold: if I would, he said, he would conduct the business of that department in such a manner as would give infinite satisfaction.—I replied, that for the interest of the Company's Surcor he had full public powers, and that I approved of them from my heart, as the means of confirming and strengthening the friendship between the Company and me, and that I would comply with every thing he might propose for the benefit of the Company's Surcor; but that in my household concerns there was not any thing of such importance as to render it necessary to trouble him.

In a few days he assumed a line of conduct correspondent to his disposition—to attempt a particular and minute account of it would be in vain and fruitless. Not one circumstance which could be productive of indignity, contempt, or the annihilation of my authority, has he left unperformed. Shoccahs respecting the regiments and other matters he has caused to be written through Hyder Beg Khan, without my knowledge; he has sent a Suzzawul to Furruckabad contrary to my inclinations; and is preparing to send Suzzawuls to other places. He has strictly forbid my ministers from writing to you on the state of things, declaring that if any presumed to write a single circumstance of the transactions here to Calcutta, he would call him to a severe account. He sent a message to me directing me to appoint a treasurer and comptroller of his chusing; that the monies from the Mahalauts* assigned for the expence of my household establishments and domestics should be paid in to the above-mentioned treasurer and comptroller, and kept in a separate house allotted to that purpose—that people sent by him should be stationed there for its protection, and that what was necessary should be expended with his knowledge and under his direction.

I replied, that every one throughout the whole empire, from the highest to the lowest, had the direction of his own household establishments and domestics; and desired to know whether he would deprive me of *that* authority also. He answered, that such were the orders of the gentlemen of the Council, and he would execute them. I represented to him, in the most earnest and forcible terms, by message, that this measure would be of no benefit to him, but that it would cover me with indignity and dishonour in the eyes of all mankind; that it would be said, the Nuvvaub Vizier was so completely divested of all power and authority, that by the appointment of a treasurer and comptroller, he had no longer any command

* *Assigned lands.*

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over

over his own household establishment and domestic servants. This message had no effect: he came to visit me, and asked why I entertained apprehensions from the appointment of a treasurer and comptroller; that he proposed it with a view to the regulation of my affairs: (he had said, at first, that neither he nor Hyder Beg should have any concern in the appointments of the treasurer and comptroller, but that I should appoint whom I thought proper) I replied, that the appointments of treasurer and comptroller of my household would be a disgrace to me: after that he proposed, that I myself should take upon me the management of all my affairs, and that the ministers should be dismissed. As I knew that this proposal for the dismission of the ministers was made with a secret view to the full establishment of his own authority, in order to sound his intentions I observed, that in the time of Moktaur ul Dowlah similar conversations had passed between us, and that when I wanted to do it he himself protected him. He replied, that I might now do what I thought proper with respect to the ministers, that he would give it under his hand and seal, that they should not receive protection either from him or from the gentlemen of the Council. I said, that the ministers had hitherto committed no crime worthy of dismission; but that I wished he would give up the intended appointments of comptroller and treasurer. He replied, that he had orders to that purport, and that it was not in his power. Here the conversation ended.

Again he repeated his message for the appointment of the treasurer and comptroller; I said, in answer, that the Jagheers of my parents, my relations, my friends, and my officers, were all sequestered, that they had no means of subsistence, and that it was my wish to admit them all to a participation in the little which remained to me, but that he would not permit even that; that he threw a cord about my neck to prevent my eating my morsel in ease and comfort; that the miseries of my friends, relations, and Jagheerdars, filled me with the deepest distress; to that he added these disquietudes: and I intreated him for God's sake to leave me at rest.

He again visited me in person, saying, "I desire you "to appoint a treasurer and comptroller, your Highness "refuses to acquiesce. To-day I tell you plainly, that "my orders are peremptory; that whether you may be "pleased or displeased, I will at all events appoint a "comptroller and a treasurer, will call in the money "from the Jauidauds *, and will issue it under my own

* *Literally Assets. It here means assignments.*

 "authority,

" authority, for the expences of your household." I replied, "Whatever you may propose for the benefit of "the Company's Surcar, I am ready to acquiesce; but "to an arrangement of my household, so disgraceful and "pernicious, I also will never agree: I will not consent "to be deprived of my proper authority, and to receive "from your hand the subsistence for my domestic servants, and the animals of my household."—"If your "orders are peremptory, give to me a copy of the orders "of the gentlemen of the Council—my seal is forthcoming; I will send it to you, and you may do by "violence whatever you may think proper.—I will shut "up the doors of my house—there I will sit, and seclude myself from all society." He replied, it was well—he would give me a written copy of the orders from the gentlemen of the Council, I might send my seal: he would at all events execute the measure.—He then rose, and retired.

For two days repeatedly I sent my seal to him by the Mowlavee, that he might do whatever he thought proper; and then he said, that if I would not affix my seal voluntarily, my seal was unnecessary: he would send letters under his own seal, and would himself appoint a treasurer; to which I returned no answer. Accordingly the Tunhaw monies which came in he delivered to Mr. Cowper, and Mr. Cowper appointed a man named Dechait to the office of treasurer.

Whatever he chuses to have written to any one, he causes drafts of the Shoccahs to be made out by his own Moonshee, and sends them by Sheikh Shuffee Ullah. Sheikh Shuffee Ullah's Khidmutgar causes them to be written by my Moonshee; and having caused my seal also to be affixed to them, carries them away. Hence you may form a judgment of the extent of my authority, and of that of my ministers.

He brought forward and carried into execution a reduction of the troops, and that too without consulting me even as a common Sirrishtehdar *. He threatens my ministers, telling them to act as he directs, otherwise he will cause them to be turned out of their offices. The ministers, influenced by the terrors of this menace, obey him; and this he construes into the management of affairs with the advice and approbation of the ministers of my Surcar.

The whole city, and many of the gentlemen here, are acquainted with the indignities I suffer. My situation, my friend, although I am every way devoted to your

* *The head of an office.*

pleasure,

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pleasure, is wretched beyond measure. My friends and my relations, the Jagheerdars, and the officers of my government, are starving. By enquiry inform yourself of the actual situations of these people. Such is my own condition, that Mr. Bristow throttles me, as it were, in order to force the morsel from my mouth.

I am made wretched to extreme by this conduct of Mr. Bristow. If you will give me leave, and write to me to that purport, I will come to you. Allow me not to be rendered contemptible in this country, where we have lived for three generations in honour and prosperity. I will come to you, and I will make no complaints; either do this, or deliver me from the hand of this man. I am devoted to your pleasure: I will not object to any thing. Whatever you may direct, agreeably to that I will act. If you are solicitous to promote my prosperity, confer upon me discretional power over my country, and for the payment of the monies to the Company. By heaping these miseries and indignities upon me, Mr. Bristow has engaged for the payment of certain sums. After obtaining a perfect knowledge of my situation, whatever may be the mode on which you shall determine, be pleased to inform me thereof, and I will cause the monies to be paid to you through the hands of my ministers. If any deficiency or default of payment shall arise, do, on the instant, whatever you shall think proper. In freeing me from these indignities, you will procure a lasting reputation to yourself.

Concludes as usual.

P. S. In the Nuvvaub Vizier's own hand.

My distresses, my friend, exceed all bounds. This is the time for kindness and generous affection. I entreat that I may either obtain my request, or that you will call me to you.

From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor-general. Second Letter: Received the 7th April 1783.

Usual introduction.

I have already informed you fully of the persecutions and indignities I have suffered from the hands of Mr. Bristow. The contumely and deprivation of authority which I experience at his hands, are redoubled daily. I am every way disposed to fulfil your pleasure. The payment of the Company's demands I consider as an object superior to all others, and wish to discharge them in preference to every other appropriation.

 I entreat

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I entreat you, by enquiry to make yourself acquainted with the conduct of Mr. Bristow. The measures on which he has determined, and which he is carrying into execution, cannot, I am certain, correspond with your sentiments and intentions towards me, or with those of the gentlemen of the Council.

He declares that the government of this country is his by right, for that he has brought orders or authority from Europe; that he will take the entire management of it into his own hands, and with his own hand give what is to be given. It is his intention to reduce me to the state of a servant dependant upon him. I am oppressed to the

dependant

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last extremity, and my life is become a burthen to me.

I am ready and willing to pay the Company's monies. I entreat, as a favour, that you will recall Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, and permit me the exercise of discretional power for the management of my country, and the payment of the Company's monies. I will cause payment of those monies to be made through the hands of my ministers, in the manner hereafter mentioned:

That is to say, Whereas Mr. Bristow has declined taking bills from the † Mahajens, for the balance of Teeps, for 26 lacks given by them; and has taken the Jacodauds assigned to those Mahajens into his own hands, and declared that he himself will collect the amount, and remit it to the Company's treasury; the truth of which you may ascertain from the Mahajens, who have given Teeps, and who declare themselves ready to grant bills for the same, if put in possession of the Jaeedauds originally assigned to them. When your orders, establishing my authority for the management of my country, and the payment of the monies, shall arrive, and Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper be recalled from hence, I will procure bills to be granted by those Mahajeens, to the amount of the balance of the Teeps, and transmit them to you; and whatever sums may remain due on the bills for 26 lacks, granted by Gopaul Doss Sahoo, from whom Mr. Bristow has taken, by violence, my minister's Tummussook *, and substituted his own in the place thereof, I will take back Mr. Bristow's Tummussook from the Gomastahs of the afore-mentioned Sahoo, and cause it to be returned to Mr. Bristow; and for what shall remain due to the said Sahoo, I will cause such good and substantial securities to be given to his said Gomastahs on the spot, that no cause for suspicion or doubt shall remain; and with

† Bankers. * Bond.

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respect to the present year Fussely * 1190, and the Jâeedauds for the Company's money settled and received by Mr. Bristow, and for the amount of which he has taken Tummussooks from the Aumils of the said Jâeedauds, let him be directed to deliver up the Tummussooks of the said Aumils to me, and whatever sums may remain due from the said Jâeedauds, and payable by the said Aumils, the same shall be remitted to you in bills, kist by kist, by my ministers; and whatever sums you shall direct to be paid here from the amount thereof, for the use of the Company's troops, the same shall be paid here monthly, to the commanding officer of the troops.

And for the ensuing year Fussulee 1191, whatever plan or mode you shall please to dictate and determine, that plan or mode, on your informing me thereof, shall be received, and strictly followed. I will not object to or hesitate to fulfil your pleasure in any respect whatever. If you will please, as a mark of your friendship, to recall Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, and confer on me discretional authority for the management of my country, and for the payment of the Company's monies, with God's assistance, I will cause those monies to be furnished and remitted by my ministers. Agreeably to what I have written, if any defect or deficiency shall happen, you will, on the instant, take whatever measures you shall think proper.

Concludes as usual.

In the Nawaub Vizier's own hand.

I hope my friend, from your kindness, that I shall be delivered from these distresses, and obtain my request.

The allegations of the preceding letters, and of those of the minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, in which they are more fully detailed, if reduced to distinct and formal charges, will stand as follows.

1st. That Mr. Bristow had assumed an absolute power in the administration of the affairs of the Nabob Vizier, appropriating, or endeavouring to appropriate, to himself all the offices of government; taking all the public accounts under his own charge; dismissing and appointing the Aumils or officers of the collections; receiving and issuing the public money of the Nuvvaub's state; and performing other acts appertaining solely to the sovereignty of the Nabob Vizier, or to the authority dele-

* *The Fussulee year begins on the 14th of September.*

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gated by him, some without the knowledge, and some against the consent, of the Nabob Vizier.

2d. That he had assumed the inspection and controul of the Nabob's private expences and domestic arrangements, not only without his consent, but against his entreaties and vehement protestations.

3d. That he had demanded and attempted, by threats of dismission from office, to extort from the minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, a contribution of 25 lacks of rupees from his private fortune.

4th. That he had compelled the minister to write and issue Shookas, or mandates, under the Nabob Vizier's privy seal, without the knowledge of the Nabob Vizier.

5th. That he had treated the Nabob Vizier with personal indignity and insult, visiting him for the declared purpose of making declarations to the Nabob of his resolution to assume the controul of his administration, and using harsh and unbecoming language in his presence; and treating, in conversation with the minister, the Nabob Vizier's remonstrances and fears with derision, calling them tricks and artifices.

6th. That he had forcibly assembled the Nabob Vizier's Muttesеddies, or official servants, at his own house, detaining them there eight days, and compelling them to prepare muster-rolls of the Nabob's Mutayena, or militia forces; that he had afterwards disbanded 4,000 horse and 7,000 foot of the said troops, declaring his intention of raising Sepoys for the Nabob's service in their room: and that these acts and declarations were made without the authority of the Nabob Vizier either obtained or solicited.

7th. That he had appointed a trooper, named Mahomed Beg, a Sazawel or comptroller of Ferruckabad, in direct opposition to the Nabob's representations, and compelled the minister to issue the Shooka, or Vizier's mandate, for the appointment.

8th. That, exclusive of the revenues assigned for the debt of the Company, Mr. Bristow had prohibited the disposal of the remainder, thereby precluding the pensioners, jagheerdars, officers, troops, and servants of the Nabob Vizier from the means of subsistence, to the disgrace of the Nabob Vizier, and the danger of his state.

9th. That for all the preceding and other acts, performed or attempted by Mr. Bristow, he had affirmed
possessed
that he had written orders from myself, and from the Governor-general and Council.

10th. That

10th. That on the demand made by the Nabob Vizier for a copy of Mr. Bristow's orders for assuming the controul of his household, he promised to deliver to the Nabob the same in writing, which promise he never performed; and that he had in like manner promised to write to the Governor-general the Nabob Vizier's objections to that interference, and request to be freed from the same, which promise he never performed.

11th. To these charges Mr. Bristow has himself added one more in his letter to the Board, dated the 13th of May, namely, that he had attempted to carry into execution a plan for the administration of justice, and had invested Mr. Cowper with extraordinary and undefined powers for receiving complaints from the subjects of the Nabob Vizier, and superscribing them with orders in the stile of mandates from the Nabob Vizier for the redress of the complainants.

I pass over other charges which are either in themselves less culpable, or such as may derive their criminality from the claims which I possess to Mr. Bristow's respect of my authority, or to his personal gratitude.——The liberties which have been taken with my character by my former opponents in office, the contumelious terms which
used
have been taken by the court of Directors in almost all their letters written in a long course of years to this government, the wounds which have been inflicted on my official influence, even by the same men, the trustees of the Company, and of the national interests in India, and even in the most desperate state of their affairs, while they called on me for my particular exertions for their retrieval, will afford Mr. Bristow a sanction in the opinion of many, for every declaration or artifice used by him, or imputed to him, which had the destruction of my influence or authority for its object.——On these points I shall let the original charges and Mr. Bristow's defence stand uncommented, and make their own impression.

I regret that the mode in which the charges preferred against Mr. Bristow were transmitted to him, renders it difficult to follow the order in which I have arranged them, or any other, in the examination of his defence.—I could not prescribe a better mode, nor could I have proposed it without exposing myself to misconstructions.—I must therefore follow Mr. Bristow's defence, as he has applied it to the correspondent parts of Hyder Beg Cawn's first letter, which appears to me to comprize the the whole of it.—One thing I own surprizes me; which

is,

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is, that though the Nabob Vizier has been loud in his complaints, and is the only relative subject of Mr. Bristow's guilt or innocence, in the immediate effects of the acts on which they depend, Mr. Bristow passes them either wholly without reply, or with remarks which are wholly foreign from his own acquittal, and confines himself with a studied adherence to the first letter of Hyder Beg Cawn.

Perhaps it will be expected, that I should first take notice of Mr. Bristow's letter which accompanies his defence.—Upon this I can say but little: when it was read at the Board, I listened to it with more than common attention, expecting it to contain the principal ground of his justification; and was a little mortified, that in the first pages of it I could catch nothing which I could substantially apply either to his acquittal or condemnation; nothing that I could either admit or refute; but an elegance of style exceeding by infinite degrees the talents of its ostensible writer; a characteristic prudence and delicacy of expression, which, avoiding the terms both of affirmation and denial, gently touched on both, and left such an impression on my mind as, had I not wholly confined my attention to the expectation of information, would have disarmed me of the most painful of the sensations which had been excited by what I already knew too well of the general subject.

To whomsoever Mr. Bristow is indebted for this composition, it is certainly not his own.—Combining the date of his letter to the Board, which bespoke the forbearance of his delays, with the length of time requisite for his original draft, or whatever materials were furnished for the substance of the letter, to arrive in Calcutta; for the composition of the letter, or for its correction; and for its transmission to Lucknow, and final dispatch to Calcutta, altogether comprehending the exact space of thirty-seven days;—I believe it to have been the work (I mean either in the composition or correction) of a very distant hand.—I owe it in candour to the person on whom my conjectures have fixed it, to declare that I attribute it to Mr. Macpherson.

I shall now examine Mr. Bristow's replies to the first letter of Hyder Beg Cawn, received the 28th March.

In the first paragraph he uses this expression: "I have "unremittingly persevered in exerting my services for "the benefit of both Sircars."

Professions of this kind are seldom taken literally; but Mr. Bristow seizes it as an instrument for discrediting Hyder Beg Cawn's evidence in all his assertions, because he says, "the articles of the treaty of Chunar are with-

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"out exception to this hour in the same forwardness, "with respect to their accomplishments, as they were on "the 23d of September 1781, or on the day of the ra- "tification."—I do not know what article of the treaty of Chunar does remain unaccomplished.——It is certain that the principal articles, which related to the resumption of the Jagheers, was accomplished; for the Jagheers were not only resumed, but they are inserted in Mr. Bristow's own accounts as making part of the last year's assignments, granted or taken for the discharge of the Company's balance.—It is certain, therefore, that Mr. Bristow has in this instance hazarded an assertion which his own evidence has refuted: yet I do not think that even his own example would warrant his opponent in calling it "a declaration that carries falsehood in the face of it," in applying to it the terms of "the most unblushing "confidence,"—and, "an utter contempt of truth," or in affirming that "it is sufficient to destroy at once all "opinion of his veracity."

While Mr. Bristow yields to the impulse of so unguarded a malevolence, in arraigning the character of another, he ought at least to be careful not to furnish weapons for wounding his own. I should not have cast away a moment's attention on so frivolous an argument, but that Mr. Bristow seems to have rested upon it as the principal ground of his defence; asserting universally, on the strength of it, his right to implicit belief, on the credit of his own veracity, and the assumed falsehood of Hyder Beg Cawn.

2d Para.—In the second paragraph, Hyder Beg Cawn accounts for his past silence on the subject of his actual complaints, by ascribing it to "the strict injunctions of "Mr. Bristow, that no one should presume to inform "this government of the state of affairs here," that is, at Lucknow;—to this charge Mr. Bristow applies the full force of the position established in the preceding paragraph. His words are so remarkable, that any comment upon them would but weaken their impression: I shall therefore quote them at large.—"This, gentlemen, is "also an assertion without proof: I crave permission to "oppose it by a flat denial; and in addition to what I "have said in the preceding article, I beg it may be re- "membered, that I have never yet been convicted of "deliberate falsehood."

With respect to the charge itself, it must be admitted, that it is, if true, capable of positive proof, were there any power on the spot competent to collect the evidence of it; and that Hyder Beg has not offered to produce any proof of it. But neither does it appear that it was intended

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tended as a criminal charge, but rather as an excuse for forbearance; nor that it was a design either of the minister, or of his master, to convey in their letters more than the representations of facts; the proofs in this, as in every instance of the like nature, were regularly to follow in the process of enquiry, instituted on the reception of the charges. Yet I can myself afford a presumptive proof in support of it, which is, that all intercourse between the Court of Lucknow and myself had certainly ceased since Mr. Bristow's arrival, unless it may be affirmed to have subsisted in a very few letters of mere form, or in an application for Bramins to be sent to the Nabob, who were skilled in the art of innoculating. I can positively vouch for the effect, whatever cause may have produced it; nor can I devise any other, unless it can be supposed that the Nabob and his minister had early concerted this plan of reserve, for the purpose of ascribing it to Mr. Bristow; a supposition inconsistent with itself, as it states an effect of resentment preceding the ground of injury.

3d Para.—This paragraph consists of profession on one side, and denial and invective on the other. They require no other comment.

4th Para.—This claims a different notice. Hyder Beg Cawn accuses Mr. Bristow, first of an early declaration of his intention to assume the immediate and entire charge of the Nabob's administration, in most of the terms comprehended in the 1st article of the charges which I have prefixed to this examination; and, secondly, of attempting to extort from him 25 lacks of rupees of his own private property, which is the 3d article of my charges. To the first point Mr. Bristow replies, that "it is a vague "and unsupported assertion, marked by its absurdity, "contradicted by fact, and requiring no other refuta"tion."—I must differ in this conclusion: if the charge is contradicted by fact, it is capable of refutation; and the fact ought to have been produced with its evidence, to refute it. Plain assertion and denial are not refutation.

On the 2d charge he dwells with a stronger emphasis, affirming it to be an absolute falsehood in terms, stating the fact to which it relates in contradiction of it; and concludes with a declamatory antithesis on the defeat of his antagonist, a commendation of his own moderation, and an expression of regret, that the public interests had suffered by his too scrupulous adherence to it. I shall only examine the fact which he calls "a most simple "transaction." Hyder Beg Cawn's state of the claim made on him by Mr. Bristow, is expressed in these words: "Therefore I must give five-and-twenty lacks of rupees

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" from my own private property, to enable him to pay " the troops, houſehold eſtabliſhment, and Jagheerdars." Mr. Briſtow affirms it to be " abſolutely falſe," or, in other words, that he did not require of Hyder Beg Cawn " that he muſt give five-and-twenty lacks of rupees from " his own private property," &c. " I propoſed," ſays he, " to the miniſter, to aſſiſt government with a loan " from his own fortune, or upon his credit; obſerving, " that it was incumbent on thoſe who derived advantages " from their public ſtation to prove their zeal for the " ſtate, by uniformly exerting themſelves to relieve its " diſtreſſes."—The palliating terms, *I propoſed*, and *to aſſiſt government*, will not change the quality or identity of the fact. A propoſal to aſſiſt with a loan, connected with a declaration that it was incumbent on him to yield to it, is a demand, and is exactly the ſame in ſubſtance, though differing, and but little, in expreſſion, from Hyder Beg's ſtate of the fact, which Mr. Briſtow affirms to be " abſolutely falſe." As to the qualifying offer, which Mr. Briſtow ſays he made, employing his influence with the bankers to procure a ſum equal to what it might be in his power to advance, I do not comprehend either the generoſity or object of it. If Hyder Beg Cawn was able to advance the ſum which the bankers were to be influenced to lend, there ſeems to be little occaſion for the uſe of any influence for ſuch a purpoſe, ſince there would be in that caſe no occaſion for the loan; and in whatever ſenſe the offer was made, it was certainly meant that Hyder Beg was to make the advance. Therefore it is fully proved, that Mr. Briſtow did require of Hyder Beg Cawn " that he muſt give five-and-twenty lacks of rupees from his own private property." Mr. Briſtow will not, I hope, avail himſelf of the diſtinction which the forms of ſpeech will afford him, between the terms of gift and loan, ſince it is as notorious, from the ſtate of the Nabob Vizier's reſources, and the demands upon them, as it evidently follows, from the reaſon aſſigned for the demand, that they were in that caſe ſynonymous. As Mr. Briſtow has aſſigned no other ground for this extraordinary tranſaction, but that Hyder Beg, as a ſervant of the ſtate, ought to prove his zeal for it, and that it had for its ſole object the ſervice of the public; and as there is not a ſyllable in my inſtructions that can warrant, by the moſt diſtant conſtruction, ſuch a violation of the principles of common juſtice, I do pronounce it to be a moſt flagitious abuſe of his public truſt, aggravated by his concealment of it from the knowledge of the Board.

Paragraph 5th.—This contains the ſubſtance of the 4th and 9th charges. Hyder Beg Cawn affirms, that Mr. Briſtow

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Bristow required him to write and issue a Shooka or mandate, in the name of the Nabob Vizier, without the Vizier's knowledge; "asserting, that he had it in command from the Governor-general and Gentlemen of the Council, to act as he should deem proper, without waiting to inform the Nabob, or allowing his measures to depend on his Highness's pleasure or displeasure."

To this Mr. Bristow replies, that "it is most true, that the Shooka in question was written without the knowledge of the Vizier: but that it is as true, that it was written by the minister alone;" and adds, that in the instance of the assignment of the Toorksuvvaurs Hyder Beg had practised the same forgery, and had issued Shookas unknown to the Vizier. What follows must be repeated in Mr. Bristow's own words: "When I understood this to have been the case, I severely censured his behaviour; explaining to him withal the abhorrence with which acts of this nature were regarded by the natives of Europe; and warning him, that should you ever be advertised of the transaction, he would assuredly fall under your heaviest displeasure; and that my silence would depend upon his religiously observing my injunctions against a repetition of such unwarrantable conduct." Had Mr. Bristow stopped here, so pointed a denial would at least have left the credit of the fact in suspence; and the prejudice with which every Englishman views a contest with one of his own countrymen, and a native of Hindostan, would have affixed to it a general impression equivalent to a full refutation. But Mr. Bristow, unfortunately for his own safety, pursues his victory with too great precipitation into a field of argument which turns the defeat on himself. "You, however, gentlemen (he adds) will judge how well this affected delicacy, with respect to the application of the Nabob's seal, accords with his having been in *actual* possession of it for years, with a discretionary power also, as he pretends, *freely* granted him by his master, to use it as he should think fit. Under this sanction he has since reigned with the most unbounded authority over the territories of Assof ul Dowlah, and in commanding he has ruined them." But if this is a fact of such notoriety, as is implied by the allusive construction of the sentence which introduces the mention of it, nor is it easy to conceive how such a fact could have existed for years without notoriety, and if under this sanction (that is by using the Nabob's seal without his knowledge) the minister had reigned with the most unbounded authority, and ruined the country, it will seem very extraordinary that Mr. Bristow should have felt such sentiments

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of abhorrence on the detection of a few recent instances of it, and issued such peremptory injunctions against a repetition of it, on pain of the heaviest displeasure of our government. If Mr. Bristow believed that the minister possessed the Nabob's authority for the discretionary use of his seal, it was an absurdity in terms to charge him with criminality for using it. If he knew that the minister did not possess that authority, but knew, as he certainly must have known, that the minister had been in the practice of this guilt for years, his indignation would have been excited by the falsehood of the minister's plea of the necessity of applying to the Vizier for his authority to use his seal, and to issue the Shooka. As a corrector of abuses, he could not have failed to make this the first object of his reformation; but by his relation of the case, he appears to have suffered the long and uninterrupted continuance of it without reproach or notice, and suddenly (it appears not on what provocation) reprobates it as a crime regarded with abhorrence by all the natives of Europe, and denounces the severest judgment and penalties against the repetition of it.

But what were the occasions in which the Nabob's seal and mandates were thus fraudulently used?—It appears from Mr. Bristow's own account, in various parts of his correspondence with Hyder Beg Cawn and the Nabob Vizier, and even his letters to the Board, that it was for the purpose or carrying two points, which Mr. Bristow himself had at heart, and first urged to the minister; namely, to call for the assistance of regiments of the Company's forces, and to constitute new assignments for the payment of the Nabob's household troops; two points, to which he knew the Nabob Vizier would object, if they had been proposed to him; and which form part of the charges preferred by Mr. Bristow himself against Hyder Beg Cawn, for his opposition to them. Is it possible that Hyder Beg Cawn, charged by Mr. Bristow with so persevering a determination to thwart him in all his measures, and availing himself of his ascendency over the Nabob Vizier to that effect, should have committed so flagrant an encroachment on the Nabob's sovereign rights, for the sake of carrying into execution the measures of Mr. Bristow, of which he himself disapproved, and which he had himself opposed; that he should hazard the commission of an act so repugnant to his interest and credit with his master, and yet suppress the knowledge of it from

whom

Mr. Bristow himself, without he had an undoubted title

to some merit in the sacrifice? It is impossible; for I

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affirm that such a conduct is without example in the whole history of human nature. Were extraneous proofs wanting, in default of inherent conviction, the letters written to Mr. Bristow by Hyder Beg Cawn, in which repeated allusions are made to his having, in obedience to Mr. Bristow's orders, issued Shookas with the Nabob's seal, unknown to the Nabob, are of themselves undeniable evidences of the fact, for Mr. Bristow admits them without a denial; though it will appear, on the perusal of his letters, that he dwells with repetition on other matters of infinitely less relative moment, and passes, without a word of exculpation or reply, the imputation of an act to which he affixes every idea of horror in his application of it to another.

Paragraph 6th.—This paragraph contains the particulars of the second charge. It states, that Mr. Bristow began by an order to the minister to deliver to him the accounts of the Vizier's Kitchen, his Horses, Elephants, and Camels; that on the minister's hesitation to comply with a demand so unusual and offensive to his master, Mr. Bristow insisted, with anger, and said, "I have orders to take possession of all papers;" that the minister, on this information, complied; that Mr. Bristow proceeded to the appointment of a treasurer and comptroller of the Nabob Vizier's household, first proposing it to the Vizier himself by message, and afterwards in person; that the Nabob Vizier objected, and protested against the appointments, and against Mr. Bristow's interference in his private expences; that the Nabob, unable to prevail on Mr. Bristow himself, deputed the minister to entreat him to desist from his purpose, "to ask him why he thus "persecuted and depressed him;" adding, "the little "which falls to my lot, even that he will not allow me "to eat in peace and quietness;" that "this declaration "was accompanied by tears of anguish." Mr. Bristow's answer to this message, and his reflections on the state of misery and humiliation to which he had reduced the Nabob, if they have been fairly stated, are equally an outrage to decency and humanity. I will not debase my mind with the drudgery of transcribing so foul a subject, nor attempt to abridge what ought, for our national credit, to be alike consigned to oblivion. The readers of this minute will be furnished with the same means of reading both the original representation, and Mr. Bristow's reply; and it will not be difficult for a mind accustomed to representations, written under the influence of interest, pride, or malevolence, to decompose the substance of each, and separate the truth from the grosser matters which invelope it. It is sufficient to my subject to mention,

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tion, that both the Nabob's prayers, and the interceffion of the minifter, were alike unavailing. Mr. Briftow not only infifted on the appointments which he had recommended, but went himfelf to the Vizier for the purpofe, as he is faid to have declared, of "telling him fo face to "face, and in plain terms;" faying, "that his orders "from the gentlemen of the Council were peremptory." The Nabob is afferted to have demanded a written copy of the orders; to have bidden him to take his feal, and do by force what he thought proper; and to have declared, in the agony of his feelings, and the confcious fhame of his degradation, that he would confine himfelf within his apartments, and exclude himfelf from all fociety. Mr. Briftow promifed to give the Nabob a copy of his orders; but remained inflexible to his point, declaring his refolution to iffue his own orders to the Aumils for the delivery of their collections, if the Nabob continued to refufe the authority of Shookas; and that he would keep the treafury, that is, the treafury of the Nabob's private expences, in his own hands. I again refer to the original letter, and add my earneft intreaties, that the candid readers of this minute will take their information from that, and not from this brief and very imperfect ftate of it, or rather allufion to it.

I proceed to Mr. Briftow's reply.—By the introductory quotation of my inftructions, it would appear, that he avows the charge, and juftifies it by his prefcribed duty. This quotation confifts of extracts from my inftructions to Mr. Middleton, the preceding Refident, and from thofe which were perfonally directed to Mr. Briftow on his appointment.

The plain defign and exprefs charge of both was, that the fum allotted for the Nabob's private expences fhould be paid in equal monthly inftallments, and be allowed a preference to every other demand: it was dictated with a fpirit as oppofite to Mr. Briftow's application, as the wideft extremes of nature. It made a part of a general injunction to treat the Nabob with every poffible delicacy, conciliation, and attention; and was written purely from the apprehenfion in the deficiency of the public funds not admitting the full payment of the Company's juft claim, and the calls of his perfonal and neceffary wants; and may I add, without the hazard of drawing on myfelf a fevere cenfure from fuch of my conftituents as fhall think that, in the time of their diftreffes, my firft and exclufive care fhould be given to their relief, than that of having authorized the deprivation of an unhappy prince, whofe alliance had fubjected him to a fervile dependance on the power of this government, that it was

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my intention to preclude the operation of ſuch a plea, by directing that the Nabob's perſonal ſhare of his own finances ſhould be fully allotted to him, although the Company's debt remained wholly in balance? Let me be judged with candour. Our alliance has proved the extinction of his ſovereignty, and the impoveriſhment of his country and revenue, and it was but juſt to allow him the means of ſubſiſtence, if no more remained of the reſources of his inheritance.

I cannot ſuppreſs a ſpark of reſentment in repeating Mr. Briſtow's application of my inſtructions in the words immediately following his quotation of them:—"Theſe "are the grounds, gentlemen, upon which I recommended to the Nabob the ſeparation of his public and "private funds," and for that purpoſe, as he afterwards explains it, "the eſtabliſhment of an office of treaſury," which he calls "the execution of an article ſo explicitly "provided for by the treaty;" that is to ſay, that becauſe I had enjoined to Mr. Briſtow a particular care that the Nabob Vizier ſhould, againſt every other exigency, receive the full amount allotted to his private expences, Mr. Briſtow ſhould iſſue Shookas, or mandates, in his own name and ſeal, if the Nabob refuſed the ſanction of his, to the Aumils, for the aſſignment of their collections for a fund of his own appointment; that he ſhould himſelf, or Mr. Cowper for him, or a treaſurer for both (for the arrangement has never been well defined) receive the money of theſe aſſignments; iſſue them as he pleaſed, not to the Nabob, but to the menial officers of his houſehold; diſpoſe of his ſuperfluous horſes and other cattle; determine how many elephants were neceſſary to the ſtate of the Vizier of the Empire; and the number of domeſtics for his attendance; and pry into his kitchen, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the quantity of victuals which ought to be dreſſed in it; that Mr. Briſtow ſhould controul the accounts of theſe diſburſements, and appropriate to his own uſe (for the conſequence is inevitable, if he choſe it) the reſidue produced by theſe œconomical retrenchments. Yet Mr. Briſtow has pretended that he acted by inſtructions from me, and in the execution of a treaty made by me with the Nabob Vizier; and he has had the boldneſs to affirm, that it was "the only meaſure that "could prevent the Nabob from continuing a cypher." —I know not what Mr. Briſtow means by his alluſion to the treaty, which moſt aſſuredly does not contain a ſyllable which can juſtify his conduct; but by the unexampled latitude which he aſſumes in his conſtructions, he may, if he pleaſes, extort this or any other meaning from any part of it.

I ſhall

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I ſhall make no other comment on this tranſaction than to obſerve, that the controul which Mr. Briſtow has aſſumed over the Nabob Aſſof ul Dowlah is ſuch as no man living, however mean his rank in life, or dependant his condition in it, would permit to be exerciſed by any other, without the want or forfeiture of every manly principle; and can only be equalled in inſolence with his abetting a young ſervant of the Company, his aſſiſtant, in dictating to the ſovereign of the country the written drafts of his own mandates.

Such is the ſtate to which the Company's influence has reduced one, and the firſt of its allies, and ſuch the example held out to other princes of India, who may be attempted to enſnare themſelves in the ſame connection.

7th Paragraph.—This contains the ſequel of the ſame tranſaction, with the particulars of the 6th Charge, namely, "That he had forcibly aſſembled the Vizier's "Mutteſidies, or official ſervants, at his own houſe, "detaining them eight days, and compelling them to "prepare muſter rolls of the Nabob's Mutayena, or mi-"litia forces; that he had afterwards diſbanded 4,000 "horſe and 7,000 foot of the ſaid troops, declaring his "intention of raiſing Sepoys for the Nabob's ſervice in "their room; and that theſe acts and declarations were "made without the authority of the Nabob, either ob-"tained or ſolicited."

Mr. Briſtow avows the deſign, but affirms that it failed through the oppoſition of the miniſter, and that the reſt of this article "as detailed by the miniſter, is an abſo-"lute romance."—What part of this article Mr. Briſtow means by "*the reſt*," does not appear, ſince no part of his reply expreſsly applies to any part of the charge; but if he was really concerned in any part of the conduct attributed to him, it will not be eaſy to ſeparate it from the reſt, and the whole was unwarranted by his inſtructions.

Paragraph 8.—I have not included this in the liſt of analyzed charges, for I do not underſtand it. It alludes to an attempt made by Mr. Briſtow to remove the miniſter from his office, and to obſcure converſations held with the Nabob Vizier upon it.—And Mr. Briſtow's reply ſeems to have been dictated by ſome ſtrong provocation of anger, the cauſe of which is not apparent; for he begins it with ſaying, "I am new fully convinced, and I "have told your honourable Board ſo, that the ſalvation "of Owde depends upon the diſmiſſion of the miniſter." There the ſentence cloſes.—I can make nothing of it, and leave it.

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Paragraph 9th.—This is general, both in charge and defence; yet there is in both an allusion which I must not permit to be lost. Hyder Beg Cawn says, "Such "is Mr. Bristow's disposition, that he outwardly pro-"fesses and caresses, while in reality he is endeavouring "to expel me from my office, and then frequently de-"nies or contradicts his own declarations. In the re-"presentation which I have made, I have not in any "one instance deviated from the truth; and it is a posi-"tive proof of the reality of many of the particulars, "that Mr. Bristow did not reply to those which are "stated in my answer to his letter, but at our next in-"terview assumed appearances of affability and good-"will."

This passage relates to the Shookas which were issued without the knowledge of the Nabob Vizier; and of these the history, as related by Hyder Beg Cawn, is as follows:

The first instance occured early, the time is immaterial, and therefore I do not trace it. Mr. Bristow thought it necessary to call for the assistance of the Company's troops from the detachment commanded by Colonel Sir John Cummings, at Futty Ghur. He applied to Hyder Beg Cawn for the Nabob's Shooka or letter, under the Nabob's private seal, requiring them, such being the form prescribed for such occasions: Hyder Beg Cawn answered, that it would be necessary to communicate this affair to the Nabob Vizier. Mr. Bristow assented, and said he would speak to him himself; but changing his mind, reproachingly ordered Hyder Beg Cawn to cause the Shooka to be written, without making any mention of it to the Nabob Vizier; saying, that such was the pleasure of the Governor-general and the gentlemen of the Council. Hyder Beg Cawn, awed by this implied menace, submitted, and gave him the Shooka, with the Nabob's seal furtively affixed. This account is thus detailed in the 5th preceding paragraph.

The latter instance is thus related:—When Mr. Bristow assumed to himself the controul of the Nabob Vizier's household expences, he found the Nabob's body-guard of horse, which are mentioned by the name of Toorksawars, greatly in arrears: he, in like manner as before, compelled Hyder Beg Cawn to cause Shookas to be written, with the seal, and in the name, of the Nabob Vizier, but without his knowledge, to certain Aumils or collectors of the public revenue, commanding them to pay their collections in assignment, for the discharge of those arrears. The Vizier, having notice of it, was very much offended; and when Mr. Bristow pressed

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pressed him on the subject of the appointment of a treasurer and comptroller of his houshold, he, after long resistance, yielded, being, as he said, without remedy; but exacted, as a condition, that the Shookas which had been issued by Mr. Bristow should be at the same time withdrawn, and others issued by himself in their stead. As it seems to have been Mr. Bristow's practice, whenever he found a difficulty in carrying any of his measures into execution, to lay his disappointment to the account of the minister, imputing it either to his secret opposition, or to want of due exertion; the minister, in return, justified himself against these imputations, by appeals to instances of his obedience, yielded even at the hazard of forfeiting the Nabob's favour, and especially to these in question. These appeals from the substance of his letters to Mr. Bristow, which stand on record of the following dates; viz.

11th of Rubbe ul Owel, or 14th February 1783.
16th — Ditto — 19th Ditto.

The same subjects are also mentioned in a Shooka or letter written by the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Bristow, and returned by Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, with a letter dated the 20th Rubbe al Owel, or 23d of February.

The following extracts from the preceding correspondence will illustrate the exposition which I have given of it, but cannot add to the proofs which have been already exhibited in my remarks on the 5th paragraph, which relate particularly to the same subject.

Extract of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Bristow, dated the 11th of Rubbeal ul Owel, or 14th February 1783.

"From the moment of your arrival I have not in any "manner been deficient in obedience, but have in every "business, and without hesitation, fulfilled your com-"mands; as in the important business respecting the re-"giments at Futty Ghur, which you were pleased to "direct should not be suspended by attention to the Na-"bob's permission, or by the necessity of informing them "thereof."

To this letter Mr. Bristow made no reply.

Extracts of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Bristow, dated the 16th of Rubbeal Owel, or 19th February 1783.

"And respecting the Tunkhaw, which, by the con-"tents of the Shookas which you have caused to be

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"written to the Aumils, is included in the Tunkhaw "of the Company, and the superintendance of which "has been given to Mr. Cowper, and a separate treasurer appointed for the same, that you will withdraw "this measure, and return these Shookas, and that "Shookas, respecting the Tunkhaw of the Toorksuwars, "may be written, directing the monies to be transmitted to his Highness."——"His Highness replied to "me in a passion, and said, you first caused Shookas to "be written, including the Tunkaw of the Turksawars "in that of the Company, and delivered them without "my knowledge; and now that it has been agreed to "return those Shookas, you again counteract it.—I will "not consent.—Let that which has been agreed to be "performed."——"I represented to you in reply, the "things which I had done, both in affairs of importance, and in concerns of less moment, both with and "without the knowledge of his Highness, in compliance "with your directions, and likewise the causes of the "delay which had occurred in certain particular affairs; "and I furthermore remarked, that my having wrote "and delivered to you the Shookas respecting the Tunkaw of the Toorksawars, in the manner or to the "purport which you had directed them to be written, "without the knowledge of his Highness, must stand "as an incontestable proof of my obedience to your commands. And on this account his Highness has repeatedly upbraided me, demanding to know how I presumed to cause Shookas to be written and delivered without "his knowledge. ❁ I informed you of the Nabob's "displeasure, and you told me to be under no apprehension; that what I had done I had done by your orders." ——"Notwithstanding such proofs and demonstrations, the written evidence of which still exist, you "say that professions of duty and obedience, unattended "by the execution of business, are of no avail."

I must take notice that Mr. Bristow, in the Appendix to his defence, gives a different translation of this letter from that which is entered on the consultations, and which was not received when the charges against him were sent to him.—In his translation, which is exceedingly faulty throughout, the passages which I have quoted are so mutilated, and warped from the real meaning, as to render the transaction, of which they are in evidence, either too obscure for application, or almost innocent. I shall instance only one sentence of Mr. Bristow's translation, answering to that above bearing this mark ❁; and I will add the Persian text in the margin *.

* *In the margin of the original are certain Persian characters.*

"I several

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"I several times informed you of the Nabob's dis-
"pleasure on this head, and your commands were, that
"I should take no heed of it, since the business must be
"settled as you had ordained."

There is a wide difference between a declaration said to be made by Mr. Bristow, that an act already done "must be settled as he had ordained," which, by the bye, is not reconcileable to common sense, and his acknowledgment, that "it had been done by his orders:" And if this sophistication was not an error unintended, it will be very obvious why it was made, though not yet easy to reconcile it with the horror with which Mr. Bristow pretends to have been affected, when he obtained the first information of the act.

I myself vouch for the fidelity of the first translation, having compared it with the original; and if it is disputed, I will put it to proof.

To this letter also Mr. Bristow made no reply, assigning as a reason, "that he had already explained to him "in the plainest language his intentions, which he still "wilfully misunderstood, and invariably misrepresented;" and "that, having every thing of importance "yet to do, he did not chuse to engage in a silly and "endless war of words, or to sit down seriously to answer "fables, because he chose to dignify them with the name "of facts."——This is a very easy refutation, but not such a one as the magnitude of the charge deserved, or as would commonly suffice to a mind conscious of its integrity, and sensible to the feelings of wounded honour.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 10th of Rubbe al Owal, or 23d February 1783.

"His Highness desires that the monies may be kept in
"the Pungmahla, under the charge of the Muttaseddies
"of the Sircar, and that I will return the Shookas which
"were formerly issued concerning the Tuncaw of the
"Toorksawars, agreeably to his Highness's commands.
"—I consent to both.——P. S. I send back his High-
"ness's Shookas addressed to me, and Sheikh Golaum
"Surroor."

Copy of a Shooka or Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Bristow, which was returned by Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn with the preceeding Letter.——I cannot extract it.

It may afford a triumph to Mr. Bristow to have such a proof of "the unprincely style of the unhappy Assof ul "Dowlah,

"Dowlah, opposed to the dignified idea of insulted so-"vereignty;" but if there is a spark of generous virtue in the breasts of any of my countrymen who shall be the readers of this compilation, this letter shall stand for an instrument to awaken it to the call of vengeance against so flagitious an abuse of authority, and reproach of the English name.

"You desired that a treasurer and comptroller might "be appointed over the disbursements of the * Dowaub, "domestics, &c. of my household; I rejected, because "it would reflect disgrace upon me in the eyes of the "whole world, since it would be apparent that I had no "longer any authority over my own household, my Do-"waub, and my domestics, &c. at the same time that it "would be productive of no advantage whatever to the "English nation.——You insist upon the appointments "being made from the highest to the lowest; it has still "been customary for every one, whatever income his si-"tuation afforded him, to manage the expences of his "own domestics and Dowaub at his discretion;—yet, "such are the events which my fate has brought for-"wards, that a new treasurer and comptroller are about "to be appointed over my household, domestics, and "Dowaub.—The infant that has aught in his hand, will "weep if it is forced from him.—I also understand what "is and what is not for my advantage; and I now with "humility tell you, that if for my satisfaction, and out "of friendship for me, you will desist from this measure, "you will confer a favour upon me; but in case it is "your pleasure that it shall be so, I am without resource "—make the appointments.——Yet, at least, let thus "much of appearances be preserved, that the monies for "the Jaidaud Mahals, for the Dowaub domestics, and "household disbursements, and for the Tunkaw of the "Toorksawars, may be transmitted to the place where "I reside, and separately delivered into the charge of "my people.—— The monies on account of the Dowaub "and household expences shall be issued by Dawaugau-"dass the treasurer, and Mahomed Hassan, comptroller, "and Tahakoordass the comptroller's Paishkot, under "my directions or authority; and the Tuncaw of the "Toorksawars, corresponding to the regulations and "practices of this Surcor, shall be issued to them as "formerly by Rajah Tippar Chund; and that you will "return the Shookas, which you caused to be written "without my knowledge, concerning the Tuncaw of

* *This word must not be confounded with the province of the same name. It means only cattle of different kinds.*

"the

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" the Toorksawars, directing the monies to be included
" in and remitted with the Tuncaw of the Company;
" and that you will hereafter, as my friend, write to the
" Governor-general, and request his orders to abolish
" the appointments of the new treasurer and comptroller
" which are about to be made."

10th Paragraph.——This contains the 7th Charge; namely, the appointment of Mahomed Beg, a trooper, to the Sezawlee of Furruckabad, by Mr. Bristow's order, against the remonstrance of the minister, and the Nabob Vizier's disapproval.—I pass the rest, which is but a repetition of former charges.

Mr. Bristow, in answer, refers the Board to his address of the 30th January 1783, for proof " that he al-
" ways considered the appointment of a Sezawel to Fer-
" ruckhabad, as a desperate alternative, but it was the
" only one; that he therefore acquiesced in it when
" urgently recommended by the minister, and was happy
" to find that acquiescence honoured and confirmed by
" our approbation."

It is very true that Mr. Bristow did inform the Board of this appointment, and obtained their approbation of it; and so he might of any other transaction, however unexceptionable, by suppressing every information which could render it such. He represented this appointment, and his participation in it, as the effect of the desperate state of the Company's assignment on the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, the oppressions exercised by the former Naib Mahomed Saced Cawn, the complaints of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, and the urgent request of the Nabob Vizier and his minister. My instructions to Mr. Bristow were, to abstain entirely from all interference in the transactions of the Nabob Vizier and his minister with the Nabob Muzuffer Jung; but neither could I nor the Board take any reasonable offence at his interference, when he apologized for it, grounding it not only on absolute necessity, but on the united and urgent wishes of the Nabob Vizier, his minster, and the Nabob Mozuffur Jung, whom it principally regarded.

The Nabob Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn, both represent it as an act of Mr. Bristow's own choice, and executed by his own authority, and against the will both of the Nabob Vizier, and of his minister. These are strong contradictions; but I cannot trace them to any proof, except the following passage in a letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 8th of Seffer, or 13th January 1783, which I think a strong one:—" Considering
" the bad state of affairs at Furruckhabad, it is necessary
" that Mirza Mahomed Beg should receive his dismission

" as

"as soon as possible. He will be introduced to you by "this letter. You will give him his dismission to-day, "and in such a manner that it may be known to every "one,"

This letter, urging the dispatch of the new Sezawall, giving him his introduction as if a stranger to the minister, and prescribing the mode of his appointment, does not very well agree with the passive and reluctant part which Mr. Bristow ascribes to himself in the transaction; but is more likely to be understood by an uninformed reader, as the address of a principal urging a point to another less inclined to the acceptance of it: and with this construction I must leave it until Mr. Bristow can furnish a better.

11th Paragraph.—This requires no comment on either side.

12th Paragraph.—This is not a charge, but a prayer to be freed from the oppressions of the Resident, with the acceptance of the Nabob's offer of the security of creditable bankers for the punctual discharge of the Company's demands. This, by a most extraordinary perversion of reasoning, is seized by Mr. Bristow as a clear refutation of all the charges which had been preferred by Hyder Beg Cawn against him; but the Nabob Vizier has himself proposed the offer, and has complained against Mr. Bristow, in language expressive of as much keener sensibility, as his sufferings exceed the vaxations exercised on his minister.

It is natural for a man labouring under any grievance to wish for the removal of the cause of it; and it is proverbial, that even the poor worm will turn with the impatience of anguish on the foot that crushes it; but it was never before inferred, that a desire to be delivered from the power and presence of an oppressor, was an evidence against the existence of the oppression.

I shall here close my observation on Mr. Bristow's replies to Hyder Beg Cawn's first letter, and proceed to the examination of Mr. Bristow's letter, addressed to the Board, of the 13th May, which contains the particulars of the 11th charge, namely, "that he had attempted to "carry into execution a plan for the administration of "justice, and had invested Mr. Cowper with extraordi-"nary and undefined powers for receiving complaints "from the subjects of the Nabob Vizier, and superscrib-"ing them with orders in the style of mandates from the "Nabob Vizier, for the redress of the complainants."

I have already said, that I considered this letter as an anticipation of the complaints which Mr. Bristow knew had been made against him, but which he had not received, nor

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nor indeed were they sent to him till the 29th of the same month. Whatever advantage may be derived from the title of having been the first complainant, it has certainly some in its influence on common judgments, and this perhaps arises from the construction which every man instinctively affixes to recriminated accusations, as being the effects of a vindictive principle, and therefore liable at least to exaggeration. This letter has very much this appearance, for it has all the characteristic forms and qualities of a systematic attack. It begins with an accumulated, though general, reprobation of the conduct and character of Hyder Beg Cawn—it proceeds to the circumstantial detail of a specific fact, and concludes with a prayer for his dismission from office. Mr. Bristow's mode of writing renders it an attempt of difficulty to reduce the substance of his unconnected and often unapplied periods to precise facts or propositions, on which I can depend for their certain relation to them. If, therefore, I shall err in my construction of them, the fault is not intentionally mine, but the effect of the obscurity of the text, which I am compelled to explain before I can make the proper use of it.

Of the letter, which consists of four small sheets of paper, the two first, and part of the third, contain only general positions, which may be comprised within the two following brief articles:

1st. That Hyder Beg Cawn had rejected all Mr. Bristow's "frankest offers of friendship and confidence," and 2d, had obstinately and contumaciously opposed all his "innovations," which he is pleased to call in his first, though not the most respectful application of my official title, the wise system prescribed by the honourable "the Governor-general." The means by which the minister is enabled to maintain so powerful an opposition, are summarily ascribed to "the influence of his power, "his talents, and his wealth," and in a more large detail to his ascendency over the mind of the Nabob Vizier his master. His account of this effect is curious, and contradicts every physical as well as moral principle, which is supposed to regulate the actions or stimulate the passions of mankind. The Nabob, he says, detests this minister from a declared conviction that the minister has reduced his provinces to desolation, and his court to a "speaking picture of penury, nakedness, and famine." Yet that the Nabob supports his minister against all Mr. Bristow's endeavours to free him from so abject a thraldom, to give peace, order, and plenty to his country, and to administer an abundance for the relief of all his personal wants—because the minister is yet in possession of his finances,

finances, and by dealing them to his master with a ſparing and artful œconomy, which Mr. Briſtow calls "alter-"nately exerting his hopes and fears," he "prevents the "Nabob from adopting any firm and dignified reſolution;" and this philoſophical ſolution he concludes in the following words: "Theſe paſſions (i. e. hopes and fears) whilſt "in equilibrium over the mind, keep it heſitating and "undetermined, the reſolutions of deſpair alone are un-"qualified and deciſive." I ſhall leave this doctrine to work its own effect, and proceed to the ſpecific inſtance, which ſeems introduced to prove the general charge of Hyder Beg Cawn's oppoſition to Mr. Briſtow's innovations.

This, as I with difficulty collect it from the letter and its encloſures, of which the letter is little more than a comment, is as follows:

In my inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, I directed him to urge the Nabob Vizier to endeavour gradually, if it could not be done at once, to eſtabliſh courts of juſtice throughout his diſtricts. Mr. Middleton, who had ſhewn little attention to any article of my inſtructions, appears to have taken not the leaſt notice of this, till a ſhort time before his recall, and when he moſt probably expected it. It was then, and not till then, that without any recent ground aſſigned for it, or advice given to me or the Board, of the meaſure, or of his intention preceding it, he prevailed upon the Nabob Vizier to appointed a man named Morolevy Mobein to the office of Sudder ul Stuck, or chief adminiſtrator of juſtice to the city of Lucknow, and the dominions of the Nabob of Owd; but without any aſſignment of power, local office, or ſalary; and the poor man himſelf ſeems to have felt the humiliating conciouſneſs of his inſufficiency for ſo elevated a dignity, to which the laſt ſtep of his promotion was the profeſſion of a ſchool maſter, which had occupied the greateſt part of a life already far ſpent. To this feeble inſtrument Mr. Briſtow had early reſource, for the eſtabliſhment of a new regulation for the general adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the Nabob's dominions; although it does not appear, from the letters either of Mr. Briſtow or of Mr. Cowper, to whom Mr. Briſtow appealed for the explanation of his inſtructions, that he had ever formed any preciſe or defined plan reſpecting it, for both allude to it as intended for the inſtitution of "proper courts of juſtice," yet both ſtyle it "a Fowjdarry Adawlet," which is a court inſtituted for the trial of criminal offences; and Mr. Briſtow in his correſpondence generally confounds it with the office of "police of the city," which is commonly the charge

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charge of Cutwall, and never assigned to the court of justice either civil or criminal.

The means used by Mr. Bristow to carry this plan into execution mark no great extension of design, or effort of invention;—the account which he himself gives of his progressive acts in this business is, that very early after his arrival he desired the minister to establish the Fowjdarry Adawlet upon a respectful footing; that he next applied for the appointment of a house to hold the court: that all the Nabob Vizier's houses being occupied (for Mr. Bristow says, that the minister had purposely filled them with lumber, to serve as an excuse for withholding them) the minister allotted a tent for the use of the Mowlevy. At length a house was allowed him, but he did not like it, because it was "situated in the center of the palace, "where his proceedings would be subject to restraint, "the place itself too confined," and some of the Nabob's effects remaining in it. The correspondence enclosed by Mr. Bristow shews that he too thought the house too small, and that the minister maintained a contrary opinion, but would apply for another; that both concurred in opinion of the unfitness of the tent for a court of justice—the minister praying for time to get a house: that Mr. Bristow required the court to be held in the city—and the minister pleaded the Nabob's orders for its being held in the palace, with other questions of the like moment; but that on a firm declaration made by Mr. Bristow, that he would appeal to the Governor-general and Council, the minister implicitly submitted, affirming, at the same time, that he had never disputed Mr. Bristow's order. In the same period of time another source of difference arose, which is most imperfectly connected with the same subject, and is thus explained by Mr. Cowper, in reply to an appeal made to him by Mr. Bristow for that purpose. That Mr. Bristow "recommended to the Nabob Vizier the immediate institution of a Fowjdarry Adawlet at Lucknow;"—that Mr. Bristow's "sole motive in this recommendation "(if Mr. Cowper had not utterly misunderstood him) "was to restore peace and order to the capital, and security to its inhabitants;"—that as the Governor-general had himself mentioned the want of proper courts of justice, as a cause of great evils, but advised much caution in their introduction; and as both Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper apprehended "danger from the abrupt "application of the remedy, when the evil was universal," Mr. Bristow, whose "attention was engaged by objects "of more immediate importance," requested, "that Mr. "Cowper would enquire and endeavour to ascertain how "far a reformation, so necessary to the prosperity and "happiness

"happiness both of the prince and people, might be ef-"fected with the least possible inconvenience and delay."—That "in conformity to Mr. Bristow's wishes, he sent "for Mowlevy Mobein, who had received his (Mr. "Bristow's) instructions to assist him, proposing to enter "with him into such explanations as "might afford him "an idea of the system of jurisprudence then established "there;" but the Mowlevy assured him, that "there "was not, nor had been for years, even the shadow of a "police;" that his appointment was "a mockery, and "himself a pageant."——After much discussion of the unfitness of such a man as the Mowlavy (a schoolmaster) "to dispense law to a whole people, and to unite, in his "person, the civil and criminal jurisdiction of such ex-"tensive countries," which he says was an indication of the disposition of the minister, too plain to be mistaken, he adds, "I must confess, I drew a conclusion from it "that at once induced me to augur very ill of our un-"dertaking, and determined me to proceed in it with all "wariness and circumspection." The issue was, that after very mature deliberation, he advised Mr. Bristow "to confine his views for the present to the institution of "a Fowjdarry court for the capital only" (which I must observe he had before mentioned as the original institution, and actually formed)—that Mr. Bristow took his advice, and obtained the Nabob's assent, and his appointment of Mowlavy Mobein to preside in the court, now limited to the capital; "and here," says he, "the matter still rests "to this hour; and to this hour the inhabitants of Luck-"now are left in a condition of licentiousness, very near "approaching to a state of nature."

I have recapitulated Mr. Cowper's account of his commission, but I profess that I do not understand the drift either of the appointment, or of his explanation of it. What gave occasion for the latter, was this:—Mr. Cowper, by some commission from Mr. Bristow, received petitions from the inhabitants, to which he affixed orders, in the formal style of mandates from the Nabob Vizier, for the redress of the petitioners. This, Mr. Bristow said, had been misrepresented as a superintendance of the court of Adawlet, and an usurpation of his Excellency's right of sovereignty;—and he therefore called upon Mr. Cowper, in writing, to "state the instructions which he "had received from Mr. Bristow on this occasion, and "his proceedings in consequence;" and "explain his "conduct relative to such petitions as Mr. Bristow might "have referred to him." The sum of Mr. Cowper's explanation is, if I conceive it rightly, that he received

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from Mr. Bristow neither appointment nor instruction, nor performed any act relative to either.

With respect to the petition, he says, and prefaces what he says with calling it "the undisguised state of the case," "that as the petitions were referred to him he had them "read, and directed Hossein Alla Cawn to write upon "the face of them severally an order, such as, had it "finally rested with him to settle them, he should have "issued upon the occasion, and then bade him carry "them to the minister;" "not," he adds, "that the "Vizier's zeal should be affixed," but "that the mini- "ster should decide upon the propriety of his ideas, and "ultimately reject or adopt them, as he saw fit." This the minister was to know instinctively, as it appears from what immediately follows: "and I chose this mode of "communicating them rather than by letter, because it "was the simplest and readiest, &c." He then refers to one of the petitions, which he incloses; and I will insert it here, with two others furnished by Hyder Beg Cawn, for their curiosity.

[Mr. Cowper's Superscription.]

Sheik Durgauhee,
Naib of Rodurmun Sokul,
having made himself acquainted
with the contents of Erzee, must
enquire into the same; in case
the grievance is founded in fact,
let him redress it, and send a Rau-
zee Naumeh to the presence.

The renowned Nuvvaub, the Dispenser of Justice to the Age.

Buddim Sing is Kannoongo, of the Purgunnah of Durreaabad, Munsa Sing, Jemadar of the Mouza of Shapoor, has confined the brother of your slaves for these eleven months past unjustly, and without cause, and will not set him at liberty; the reason is, that during the Aumildarre of Setul Chund, the dismissed Aumil of the Jagheers, he entered into an agreement for the above

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Mouza or district, under the secularity of the said Kaunoongo: he has moreover plundered our property, and razed our habitation. We hope from your goodness and favour that our brother may obtain his liberty, and that we may, agreeably to justice, receive back the property, goods, grain, &c. which he has plundered.

Concludes as usual.

Erzee of Lelik Sing
and Derbaud Sing.

[Mr. Cowper's Superscription, in the Hand Writing of his Moonshy.]

Let orders
be issued to Jaun-
Beg not to molest the
habitations of the widows,
but make good the injury
he has done them.

Erzee to the Nuvvaub the Dispenser of Justice, &c.

Sets forth, That Jauni Beg unjustly, and by force and violence, hath seized upon the dwellings of certain widows. You are the protector of the poor. Whatever may be your determination in behalf of the widows, be pleased to declare it. We have no other refuge but you, &c. He formerly pulled down four or five houses, and he has now prohibited water from being carried to four or five others.

Signed, Erzee of the Widows.

[In the Hand Writing of Mr. Cowper's Moonche.]

Let orders
be issued to Fakeer
Chund not to injure and
oppress without cause, but set
the sons in law of Haujee
Aka Mahummed a liberty
and write an account of the
circumstances respecting them
to the presence.

Sets

Sets forth, that the ſons in law to Hajee Aukau Mahummed have been confined in priſon during the whole of the laſt year: from the time of Fakur Chund's appointment, he has treated them with the utmoſt ſeverity, even to the prohibiting their food from being brought to them.—We had rented the Purgunnah of Aali Gunge for three years.—four months of the Fuſſull of Hurref remained when we were turned out: all that was received to that period was paid; and if we had continued through the Hurreef Fuſſul, the remainder would have been paid. We are in no ſhape guilty.—We hope from your favour and goodneſs, that in your kindneſs to the poor and the helpleſs you will ſet them at liberty, &c.

Signed,
The Erzee of the family of
Hagee Auka Mahummed.

Let thoſe who will, comment on this tranſaction. It was a groſs and moſt indecent attempt to dictate to the Vizier of the empire the words of his own mandates, which the Vizier was to copy from Mr. Cowper's draft, and iſſue without a knowledge of the ſubject. It is an inſult to common ſenſe to impoſe any other conſtruction upon it.

Mr. Briſtow's motives for giving theſe extraordinary authorities, and enforcing them with ſo many angry movements, is more extraordinary than the acts themſelves; and I muſt own that I firſt read them with an idea which no conſequent act has effaced, that he wrote them under the conviction that he might write what he pleaſed, in the aſſurance of its being favourably accepted.

I have already mentioned the inſtructions which I gave to Mr. Middleton, relating to the introduction of courts of juſtice in the Nabob Vizier's dominions, which will be found, on a liberal examination of them, to have been dictated under doubts of its expediency. In my inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow, written with a fuller and recent experience, I expreſſed thoſe doubts in terms, aſſigning many ſtrong reaſons for entertaining them, and concluded with recommending the ſubject to his enquiry, but without venturing to give him any inſtructions concerning it. Mr. Briſtow, in a letter which he wrote on the 12th December, profeſſedly intended as a detail of his tranſactions and intentions reſpecting the execution of my inſtructions, adopts all my concluſions; and adds to them other arguments, much ſtronger, againſt the inſtitution of Adawlets; and ſo much ſtronger, that theſe alone ought to have deterred him from attempting it. He cloſes the ſubject with the following words:

 "I would,

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"I would, however, propose, that Moulavy Mobein, "the man recommended by Mr. Middleton, should continue with the name of Sudder ul Huck; and when "regularly shall be introduced into other branches of the "government, the extension of his power will form part "of the plan."

These are the authorities which Mr. Bristow quotes from his attempt to introduce the establishment of his plan, whatever it was, for the administration of justice; and they are inserted at full length in the third number of the appendix to his letter. I appeal to the same authorities, for the proof that I gave him no instructions to institute courts of justice; and that he had therefore no authority to attempt it; that he himself declared it to be improper; and by his own interpretation of my instructions, gave them the force of orders prohibiting any such attempt; that by such a declaration, concluding with a recommendation to suffer the nominal appointment to subsist, without any substantial application of it, he certainly intended to convey to me the assurance inevitably implied by it, that he would himself attempt nothing beyond the appointment; and that, by attempting it, he has consequently been guilty of the double charge of disobedience of orders and deception.

I have now gone through the examination of the charges against Mr. Bristow, and of his answers to them, according to the order in which he has himself arranged them. I shall not attempt, by any recapitulation of them, to point out the strength of the former, or the insufficiency of the latter. I shall leave both to make their own impression; and doubt not that they will necessarily produce, in the minds of others, a conviction which they have produced in my own, that the truth of every charge against Mr. Bristow is either positively or presumptively established, even by the authorities which he has himself produced to refute them.

I myself am personally aggrieved by Mr. Bristow's conduct and pretensions. Every accumulation of his guilt is doubled by the attempt to fix the original charge of it upon me. In his declarations to the Nabob Vizier, to the Minister, and even in his addresses to the Board, he appeals to my instructions, as the rule and warrant of his actions. To disprove this, I need only to appeal to my instructions themselves: these had one essential object,—the discharge of the arrears due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, with his growing debt; and every article of them had a regard either to the means of rendering this effectual, or to the cautions requisite in the exercise of an unavowed influence, in the place of a lawful authority.

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rity. The means by which our government acquired this influence, and its right to exercise it, will require a previous explanation: both originated in our connection with the Nabob Suja Dowla. I found him a dependant on the Company, or rather on the Commander in Chief of the army. Under the authority of the Council of which I was the president, in the year 1773, I concluded a treaty with him, which left him optionally free, but virtually dependant on our government, by the reciprocal obligations of it, which on our part consisted in military assistance whenever he demanded it; and on his, the payment of a monthly subsidy for the expences attending it. He remained the absolute sovereign of his own dominions; and whenever he found the presence of our army, or the ascendant of our alliance, too powerful for his ease or dignity, he might free himself from both, by the dismission of the former. But the necessity of his affairs rendered it unsafe or inconvenient to part with it, as was evinced by the experiment of a few months, in which the army was remanded to our frontier, and again recalled for his service; and thus its attachment to him, and the kind of tribute which he paid for the use of it, were rendered permanent, but in such a mode, as conduced to his interest and safety, without a diminution of personal consequence. He was himself the instrument of forming this relation; he left the advantages of it; he experienced nothing humiliating in the superiority of the part assigned to our government in it; and in the short interval which followed the construction of it, two rich and extensive members were added to his paternal dominions, besides that which he acquired with it. Let me add, without the imputation of assuming too much self-consequence, that my personal behaviour to him was unvariably marked by a studied respect. In public, I addressed him as my acknowledged superior; in private, for only one person was ever privy to our conferences, I made my demands in firm but decent language; exacted his compliance, by stating the grounds of our mutual necessities, without either concealment or exaggeration; and obtained, with his chearful and most willing concession, the best accession of a new dominion, a portion of the wealth of a valuable and remote territory, without the burthen of its administration. He parted from me contented; and if I may trust to those assurances which my station may be suspected to have extorted from private adulation, he publicly and frequently acknowledged the obligations which he owed to me; and even in his last moments recurred to them, in the line of conduct

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which he recommended to his ſon and ſucceſſor, the preſent Nabob Aſſof u' Dowla.

With his death a new political ſyſtem commenced, and Mr. Briſtow was conſtituted the inſtrument of its formation, and truſtee for the management of it. The Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah was deprived of a large part of his inheritance, I mean the province of Benares, attached by a very feeble and precarious tenure to our dominions; the army fixed to a permanent ſtation in a remote line of his frontier, with an augmented and perpetual ſubſidy; a new army, amphibiouſly compoſed of troops in his ſervice and pay, commanded by Engliſh officers of our own nomination, for the defence of his new conqueſts; and his own natural troops annihilated or alienated by the inſufficiency of his revenue for all his diſburſements, and the prior claims of thoſe which our authority or influence commanded; in a word he became a vaſſal of the government: but he ſtill poſſeſſed an oſtenſible ſovereignty, his titular rank of Vizier of the empire rendered him a conſpicuous object of view to all the ſtates and chiefs of India; and on the moderation and juſtice with which the Britiſh government in Bengal exerciſed its influence over him, many points moſt eſſential to its political ſtrength, and to the honour of the Britiſh name, depended.

This is not a place, nor have I room in it, to prove what I ſhall here content myſelf with affirming, that by a ſacred and undeviating obſervance of every principle of public faith, the Britiſh dominion might have by this time acquired the means of its extenſion, through a virtual ſubmiſſion to its authority, to every region of Hindoſtan and Deccan. I am not ſure that I ſhould adviſe ſuch a deſign, were it practicable, which at this time it certainly is not; and I very much fear that the limited formation of ſuch equal alliances as might be uſeful to our preſent condition, and conduce to its improvement, is become liable to almoſt unſurmountable difficulties. Every power in India muſt wiſh for the ſupport of ours, but they all dread the connection.

The ſubjection of Bengal, and the deprivation of the family of Jaffier Ally Cawn, though an effect of inevitable neceſſity, the preſent uſurpations of the rights of the Nabob Wallar Jau, in the Carnatic, and the licentious violations of the treaty exiſting between the Company and the Nabob Nizam ul Dowla, though checked by the remedial interpoſition of this government, ſtand as terrible precedents againſt us. The effects of our connection with the Nabob Aſſof o Dowla had a rapid tendency to the ſame conſequences, and it has been my invariable

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ſtudy to prevent it, by the removal or reſtriction of every authority or influence derived from our government which interfered with his, and by the promiſe of whatever means I might poſſeſs for withdrawing that interpoſition of it in the internal management of his affairs, which we exerciſed in the aſſignments made of portions of his revenue for the payment of the Company's debts, whenever he ſhould either have diſcharged them, or could afford a ſecurity for their payment. It is not unknown to the members of the Board, who compoſed it in the beginning of the year 1781, how much it was my wiſh, even then, to return on a new commiſſion to the reſidence of the Nabob of Owd, provided I could be entruſted with powers to make ſuch an accommodation, for his finances were daily diminiſhing; the preſence of the repreſentative of our government enfeebled that of the Nabob in its executive acts, and all the provinces of his dominions were gradually ſinking into decline, the reproach of which, even from our own countrymen, was caſt upon our government as the cauſe of it.

Unfortunately, the Nabob Vizier wanted the requiſite talents for buſineſs. His underſtanding, though far under-rated in the common opinion of it, was deficient in many other requiſite qualities of government; but it was united with a gentleneſs of manners, a ſuſceptibility of kindneſs, and a pliancy of will, which might, in proper hands, conſtitute an equivalent to them. It was in my reliance on the effect of theſe qualities that I ſolicited, and in their effect obtained from him, in return for my conceſſions, his agreement to the admiſſion of the aſſiſtance of the Reſident, in the charge then ſpecially given to his miniſter, of his finances and public diſburſements. Diſſatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Middleton, the Reſident to whom this charge was firſt committed, and of his deputy, Mr. Johnſon, to whom he delegated it, I formed the reſolution of naming Mr. Briſtow to it in their ſtead. To this I had various and powerful inducements. The firſt and principal was, the reiterated order of the court of Directors for his appointment: ſecondly, the wiſh of the other members of the Council urging it: thirdly, their declarations of uniting to ſupport my authority, and other concurrent circumſtances removing the objections which had hitherto oppoſed it: fourthly, a reliance on the perſonal gratitude of Mr. Briſtow, for my optional nomination of him to ſo important a truſt: and, fifthly, his aſſurances, and a pledge given me for the performance of them, in which I then repoſed a religious confidence:—I propoſed, and the Board agreed to his appointment, leaving it to me to give his inſtructions. Theſe

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were accordingly delivered, first verbally, but accompanied with heads in writing for his remembrance, in a discourse which occupied four hours of my time, when I was yet too ill to write, and they were afterwards dictated, for I continued unable to write them; and having received the approbation of the Board, they were transmitted to him on the 24th of October. I have detailed the process of this affair to shew, at least, the improbability of Mr. Bristow's misunderstanding my intentions respecting the line of conduct which he was to pursue, if these were really contrary to that which he did adopt. Hitherto the Resident had never interfered beyond advice and persuasion. I myself never affected a higher claim; nor had I a suspicion that Mr. Bristow would go beyond it; it therefore never occurred to me to guard against it. On the contrary, I will freely confess, and I am ashamed of it, I yielded to him an implicit confidence. As to my instructions, and their real objects, I affirm, that they have been wholly neglected; nor has any use been made of them but to pervert them to designs of which I know not the authority, nor can devise any other end but private *rapacity*. In one instance, indeed, he may appear to conform to them, which is in his disagreements with the minister, with whose conduct I was certainly much offended on the occasions which had afforded me so much offence against Mr. Middleton; and I therefore warned him to keep a watchful eye on Hyder Beg Cawn, and I spoke of him in terms which marked great distrust of his principles, and dislike of his character. Whether I was right or wrong in my judgment, I will not now attempt to determine: I certainly erred in the unreserved manner in which I communicated it, since it has been so frequently and powerfully retorted upon me: but Hyder Beg Cawn is not the object of this discussion. Let his former conduct have been what it would, it will not justify Mr. Bristow in acts done consequent to it, and independent of it. Let his present conduct be what it will, it will not warrant Mr. Bristow's usurpation of an authority which was never entrusted to him, and in the commission of insults and indignities to a sovereign prince, united by treaty to the Company and to the British nation. There is not a syllable of my instructions which will admit of a construction of a power to assume any authority whatever in the administration of the Nabob Vizier. The only passage which I find, in a recent search, to bear any thing like a tendency to it, is the close of the 13th Article; in which, speaking of the dangerous abuse which the Beegums had made of their Jagheers, I direct him to remonstrate in the strongest terms against their restoration; and

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and I add, that he "must not *permit it* until this govern-"ment shall have information of it;" but how far even this expression was from conveying the idea of his exercising an authority over the Nabob, will be demonstrated by the expressed purpose of the communication, in the words immediately following; viz. "and shall have had "time to *interpose its influence* for the prevention of it." This extract will shew, that in a case which I deemed of the utmost consequence to the safety of the Nabob's dominions, and of our political interests, in this instance more nearly than any other connected with it, I did not conceive that even the Governor-general and Council, in their collective capacity, had a right to interfere with authority; but could only make use of the means of persuasion, or, as it is expressed "to interpose their influence," for preventing the evils which we supposed; and can it be believed, that I should invest Mr. Bristow with powers of which I disavowed the use myself, and denied the exercise of them to the administration of which I was the first member?

The article respecting the Nabob Vizier begins with an injunction "to study, on every occasion, to conciliate "his good-will, and to shew him every ostensible and "external mark of respect." I expressed "my hope, "that he would not find it difficult to make the Nabob "himself the mover of every act necessary, whether for "the advancement of his own interests, or the discharge "of his debt to the Company." I recommended to him to endeavour to win the Nabob's confidence from Hyder Beg Cawn; and I remember using this, or a very like expression, in my verbal instructions.—"Be you his mi-"nister, and make yourself his advocate, and the vindi-"cator of his rights, if his present minister shall injure "them." And I strictly enjoined a preference of the Nabob's claim to the sum allotted to his personal expences before any other, little imagining that this clause would be perverted to a virtual but effectual deprivation of the use of it.

The advice which I thus pointedly recommended to Mr. Bristow was such as I should have pursued myself, had I been in his situation, and with a well-grounded expectation of succeeding in attaining the prescribed objects of it; for I have myself experienced what might be effected by conciliation in situations the same as his, and in others not dissimilar from it, and on minds more difficult than the meek spirit of the Nabob Asoph u Dowlah; for I never found either the acute apprehensions and quick susceptibility of Meer Cossim, nor the pride and manly sense of the Nabob Suja Dowla, impenetrable to argu-ments

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ments applied to their interefts, and delivered with truth and plain dealing, which were all the arts I ever ufed in my political negociations.

But I have a further proof, and an unanfwerable one, that I never had, nor could have had, any defign in any commiffion given to Mr. Briftow, either hoftile to the Nabob Vizier, or offenfive to his feelings, without fuch a profligacy of character as muft have been marked by the whole tenor of my life according with it. When I mentioned, to Mr. Briftow my intention of appointing him to the refidency of Lucknow, I at the fame time informed him, that I could not yet effect it, until I had an affurance that it would be acceptable to the Nabob Vizier, not knowing whether, from former tranfactions, the Nabob might not have a perfonal exception to him; and I therefore directed him to apply by letter to the Nabob himfelf for his confent. Mr. Briftow did write to him accordingly. I alfo caufed Govind Ram, the Nabob's Vakeel, to apprize his mafter that the application was made with my knowledge, and with my wifh that it might prove effectual, if the Nabob had not the objection which I had apprehended; and left he might be induced, by his remembrance of the intereft by which Mr. Briftow's former appointment had been before made, to object to it on a principle of delicacy to myfelf, I defired Rajah Govind Ram to affure him, that Mr. Briftow fhould receive his appointment from my own choice, not by the impofition of any authority contrary to it: but I abftained from any direct communication of thefe fentiments, that the Nabob might be the freer in his decifion upon the propofition fubmitted to him. I have already alluded to this tranfaction in a minute, dated the feventh of March 1783, and dictated on a different occafion, and with other particulars, which are here omitted.—Mr. Briftow will not deny the fact, as I have related it; and Mr. Macpherfon will poffibly recollect it.

Is is poffible that I could have ufed fo much delicacy, and affected fuch a tendernefs towards the Nabob, if I meant to fend a tyrant to rule over him?

I fhall forbear to fpeak my apprehenfions of the confequences, if it fhall be finally refolved by the members of this Board, that Mr. Briftow fhall be formally vefted with the power of ruling the dominions appertaining to the Nabob Afoph u Dowla, and guaranteed to him againft all invaders, by a facred treaty, by which the faith and honour of the Britifh nation, and not the Company alone, are pledged to maintain it. A fyftem of fuch controul cannot fubfift on conftructive powers; and if the Board do not notify to Mr. Briftow the declaration which I have made,

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made, of the revocation of thofe which he received from me, and which he has grofsly abufed, I fhall; and at his peril let him dare hereafter to quote them, as containing the authority for his actions. Thofe who abet him in his conduct ought to prefcribe to him the rule of it. When I am made acquaintd with that rule, I will record my opinion of it.—Would to God I could prevent it, and the dreadful confequences which, however qualified, muft attend the exercife of any dominion built on fuch a foundation, and committed to fuch a ruler!

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Department.

Fort William, 20th October 1783.

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

I HEREBY make my appeal to your honourable Court, from the acts of this government, on an occafion which highly concerns the interefts of the Company, and the honour and faith of the Britifh name. The fubject is two-fold, and confifts, firft, in a feries of charges, preferred by the Nabob Vizier, and his minifter Hyder Beg Cawn, againft Mr. Briftow, your Refident at the Court of Lucknow: and, fecondly, in an offer made by the Nabob Vizier of the fecurity of creditable Bankers, for the difcharge of his paft and growing debt to the Company; and accompanied with a conditional prayer, to be freed from the prefence and oppreffions of Mr. Briftow, and his affiftant Mr. Cowper.

Meffrs. Wheler, M'Pherfon, and Stables, have feverally acquitted Mr. Briftow of all the charges which were alledged againft him; and they have feverally refufed to accept the offer of the Nabob Vizier, and to comply with the prayer accompanying it. My opinion, on both points, ftands in direct contradiction to theirs.

The proceedings on this affair have been already fwelled to fo enormous a fize, and I have myfelf contributed fo largely to it in my examination of Mr. Briftow's defence, that I fhall deem it moft confiftent with the refpect which I feel for the value of your time, to refer you to the minutes of Council which comprehend this fubject, and

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and for that purpose to enumerate them in the order in which they may afford you the most connected information, viz.

Treaty of Chunar, dated 19th September 1781. —	Vide Governor-general's narrative of the insurrection at Benares.
Instructions to Mr. Middleton, 23d September 1781 ——	Do.
Mr. Johnson's recall from his office at Lucknow —	Secret Conf. 7th September 1782.
Mr. Middleton's recall, and Mr. Bristow's appointment —	Public do. 23d Septemb.
Governor General's notification to the Board of his instructions to Mr. Bristow ———	Secret do. 24th October.

N. B. These instructions are entered on Secret Consultations of 21st April 1783.

Governor General's minute, on the appointment of Mr. Fowke to the Residentship at Benares	7th March 1783.
Complaint against Mr. Bristow	21st April 1783.
	12th May.
	19th.
	22d.
	29th.
	13th June.
	7th July.
	24th.
	28th.
	31st.
	11th August.
Minutes of Mr. Wheler, dated 24th August —	28th.
Do. — of Mr. Stables, dated 30th August —	4th September.
Do. — of Mr. Macpherson, 3d September —	Do.
Do. — of Governor General, 29th September —	29th.
Do. — of Do. 6th October —	6th October.

Papers

Papers recorded with the above minute of the Governor General, viz.

Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor-general, dated 16th September 1783.
Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor-general, dated 20th September 1783.
Do. from Hyder Beg Cawn — Do. — received 27th.
Minutes of Mr. Macpherson and Stables, in answer to the Governor-general's last — Secret Conf. 13th Oct.
Minute of the Governor-general in reply, dated 11th October 13th.

Papers recorded with this minute, viz.

1st. Letter from the Governor-general to Hyder Beg Cawn, delivered to Mr. Bristow, with his instructions, and with a power of delivering it to Hyder Beg Cawn, or of suppressing it, at his discretion.
2d. Information given by Rajah Gobind Ram to the Nabob Vizier on the occasion of Mr. Bristow's proposed appointment.
3d. Instructions from Major Davy to Major Palmer, by order of the Governor-general, on the same subject, dated 6th October.
Minute of the Governor-general, dated 20th October — Secret Conf. 21st Oct. recording his instructions to Major Palmer, dated 6th May 1783.
Mr. Stables's minute of 24th October, in answer to the Governor-general of the 29th September — Secret Conf. 21st October 1783.
Mr. Macpherson's, in answer to Do. — Do.
The Governor-general's of the 2d November, in reply. — Do.
Mr. Macpherson's minute, recording correspondence between Major Palmer and Mr. Cowper 25th.

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What may be the future procefs and iffue of this bufinefs I cannot forefee; I have borne a very painful and laborious part in it, and fhall continue to devote as much of my time and attention to the examination of the materials which may be furnifhed in the profecution of it, as my other more urgent calls, if I can have any more urgent, and the impaired ftate of my conftitution will allow.

I fear, in every inftance which may impel me to fpeak of myfelf in any allufion to the relation of my office to your honourable Court, to err in the forms of refpect. I therefore befpeak your pardon, with the moft folemn affurance that I mean not to offend, for the too obvious fuggeftion implied in the following expoftulation: Do not, honourable Sirs, confider me as an object in the iffue of this reference. Your decifion upon it, at whatever period it may arrive, will be received by an adminiftration with which I can have no concern; and may I prefume to hope, that it will place the executive charge of your commands in the hands of a perfon who fhall be invefted with the powers of the office, not difgraced as I have been with an unfubftantial title without authority, and with a refponfibility without the means of difcharging it. May he at leaft poffefs fuch a portion of exclufive controul as may enable him to interfere with effect in occafions which may tend to the facrifice of your political credit! This, whatever temporary convenience may dictate a different rule of conduct, applied to every variable contingency fo conftrued, will be found the only principle which can give permanency to your dominion. A belief, however warranted, of a contrary rule of policy influencing your affairs, has been the real and undoubted caufe of the late confederacy formed for your deftruction, and of the confequent defolation of one great member of your ftate, and may (which God avert!) prove one hidden fource of its ultimate diffolution. This doctrine may be ill fuited to the character of a man whofe removal from office has been declared by high authorities neceffary to quiet the minds of the native princes of Hindoftan, and reftore their confidence in the faith, juftice, and moderation of the Britifh nation. A few years will remove the veil of faction which has caufed this illufion, and it will be known that all my acts have been regulated by the moft facred obfervance of treaties, and all my negociations with truth; yet let me be what I may, I profefs the neceffity of juftice and good faith to the exiftence of the national interefts in thefe kingdoms. Your honourable Court has proclaimed it; one great member of the legiflative body has folemnly pronounced the

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the ſame doctrine, and the voice of the people is ready to echo it; yet it is, even with theſe great authorities, inefficient, ſince every man who is in the poſſeſſion of power to violate the national faith, and is impelled by the provocations of ambition, avarice, or vengeance, ſtronger than the reſtrictions of integrity and honour, may violate it with impunity. Your wiſdom may enforce, in partial applications, the rule which your juſtice has generally preſcribed, and the terrors of parliamentary enquiries may deter groſs and notorious abuſes of it; but until the legiſlative power of the nation ſhall declare it capital in any of its ſubjects to commit a breach of treaty, or to invade any of the aſcertained rights of nations, the greateſt of all moral enormities, by which the fate of millions may be cloſed, and ſtates doomed to annihilation, will remain protected by the law of England from the effect of that juſtice which dooms to death the meaneſt invader of private property.

I cannot conclude this addreſs without expreſſing my concern for the intereſt and character of a man whom I have proved, unfortunately, though unintentionally, the inſtrument of involving in a conteſt which threatens to terminate in his ruin, however upright his intentions may have been, or however laudable in their proſecution—I allude to my military ſecretary, Major Palmer, whoſe accidental preſence at the Court of Lucknow furniſhed the occaſion to the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter, of tranſmitting through the channel of his letter their complaints againſt Mr. Briſtow. For the ground of his original deputation, I beg leave to refer you to my inſtructions, which will be found among the numbers of the packet ſent by this diſpatch; and for the part which he has borne in relation to the complaints, to his letter, alſo inſerted a number in the ſame packet. Theſe will afford additional and (if I do not view them with too partial a judgment) inconteſtible proofs of the delicacy which I have both obſerved in my own conduct to the Nabob, the Nabob Vizier, and in that which I have preſcribed to others; and how little I merit the reproach of that ſavage treatment of him which Mr. Briſtow has pretended to ground on my authority.

Allow me to atteſt, that with an intimate knowledge of Major Palmer's character, acquired and improved by an intercourſe of many years, I do not know a man who poſſeſſes a truer ſenſe of honour, a more benevolent heart, a more candid ſpirit, or more gentle manners; and I believe that this is his character in the eſtimation of all who know him.

Thoſe

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Thoſe whoſe deſigns and actions have been drawn from their concealment by the means in which Major Palmer participated, will avail themſelves of ſpecious and general maxims to brand him with the character of an incendiary and an informer. Had he refuſed to act the part which he has done; had he, my avowed and confidential miniſter, profeſſing himſelf attached to me by the ſtrongeſt ties of friendſhip, been an eye witneſs of deeds which ſtamped my character with infamy, and deſtroyed the credit and faith of the government which he ſerved, and had allowed the cold precepts of that ſelf-intereſt which is ſometimes denominated prudence, to influence his ſuppreſſion of them, I on my part ſhould have deteſted him as a monſter of ingratitude, falſehood, and infidelity. On which ſide was he, in ſuch an alternative, to have made his option? To the juſtice of your honourable Court, and to the breaſt of every virtuous and honourable man, I ſafely appeal for the reply.

I have the honour to be,
Honourable Sirs,
Your moſt obedient,
and faithful ſervant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

Minutes of Mr. Macpherſon, Mr. Stables, and Mr. Haſtings, in Conſultations, 21ſt October 1783.

Mr. Macpherſon, October 20th.

I HAVE peruſed the Governor-general's minute, delivered in Council the 30th September. For the preſent I will only take notice of thoſe parts of it which point particularly at myſelf, and the public ſtate of the queſtion.

The Governor-general has been pleaſed to ſuppoſe, that I had either written or corrected Mr. Briſtow's letter to the Board, tranſmitted with his defence. To Mr. Haſtings I ſhall only reply, that he is miſtaken in this opinion. The compliments which he pays to the ſtyle and temper of the letter are flattering; but if they do not fall to the avowed writer, I know not who has a right to claim them.

As Major Palmer has, upon another occaſion, ſuppoſed that I tranſmitted to Mr. Briſtow copies of the minutes of the members of this Board, or of other public papers, on the ſubject of the accuſations againſt him, I deſire that Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper may be called upon to make a declaration, to the truth of which they will hereafter be ready to atteſt upon oath, in the preſence of a proper magiſtrate, "whether I wrote or corrected, or in any "ſhape compoſed the letter that accompanied Mr. Briſ-

"tow's

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" tow's defence; or whether I ever, through any com-
" munication, direct from myſelf, or indirect through
" others, tranſmitted to them copies of what any other
" member of the Board, or of what I myſelf have written
" upon the ſubject of the charges againſt Mr. Briſtow, or
" his defence."

My object in making this propoſition is not ſo much to diſprove what a plain negative can anſwer, as to ſhew how very different my proceeding has been in this buſineſs; it has been ſuch as is entitled to the real approbation of the Governor-general.

As to the difference of my proceeding in the reſpective caſes of Mr. Johnſon and Mr. Briſtow, I ſhall leave it to the public records to place it in its proper light.

The re-eſtabliſhment of the French power in India, without any reſtriction as to the military force they are to keep at Chandernagore renders it, according to my ideas, particularly neceſſary for this government to continue their Reſident at Oude, and to maintain a reſpectable force in that frontier.

But I mean not to enter into a diſcuſſion upon this or any new ground, to ſhew the advantage to the public from the eſtabliſhment of a Reſident at Oude. The meaſure has been long adopted, and is now rendered more indiſpenſable, from the late directions of the Court of Directors.

I ſhould at the ſame time be extremely happy to ſee an adminiſtration eſtabliſhed at Oude, and with every one of our country dependant allies, that would preclude as much as poſſible the internal interference of our agents with the affairs of their countries. Such an interference it will ever be difficult to keep within thoſe bounds which ſecure the proſperity of the natives, and the regulation of the country, from the effects of oppoſite and claſhing authority.

Had the Vizier and his miniſter been found competent to ſecure the peace and good management of the Nabobſhip of Oude, on the bottom and principles of the Chunar treaty, it would not have been found neceſſary to have charged Mr. Briſtow with the powers which his inſtructions gave him, and which bound him at leaſt to *attempt* to introduce a new and a better ſyſtem.

His repreſentations to the Board, of the ſtate in which he found the country, of his expectations and endeavours to carry through the expected arrangements; and of the difficulties that lay in his way; theſe repreſentations, which the Board received in detail, without any diſapprobation of his proceedings, and more particularly the independence which he maintained againſt a miniſter,

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whose influence existed in the abuses complained of, were the grounds upon which Mr. Bristow appeared to have been entitled to support.

But should it hereafter appear that Mr. Bristow, instead of being entitled to such support, has endeavoured to pervert the instructions and authority with which he was charged to the purposes of *private rapacity*, he can no longer merit countenance; and I sincerely believe that he will meet with none from any member of the Board. There is an expression in the Governor-general's minute, which, though it does not charge Mr. Bristow with any act of private rapacity, intimates, that his instructions may be perverted to such. If it does not, I have misunderstood it.

Had the majority of the Board directed Mr. Bristow, in consequence of his representations against Hyder Beg Cawn, to urge the Vizier to remove that minister, and make him account for his past administration; had they directed the Resident, in consequence of the oppositions he met with, to insist on reformations, which must have divested the Vizier and his administration of much of their wonted authority, they might be charged with proceeding with violence.

But, in the present situation of affairs at Lucknow, the Resident of this government does not appear to me to be supported in the exercise of any such oppressive controul.

On the contrary, his official representations tend to shew that the Vizier's administration hardly treats him with the attention that is due to his office, much less with the respect which ever accompanies power in this country.

(Signed) M'P.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Dept.

Mr. Stables. 24th Oct. 1783.

I beg leave to offer the following remarks on the Governor-general's minute of date the 29th of last month, for the consideration of the Court of Directors, and in justification of my own conduct.

On my arrival in Calcutta, in November 1782, I found that Mr. Bristow had been appointed Resident at the court of Oude in September preceding. I have no knowledge of this gentleman, nor have I ever seen him.

When the Governor-general presented to the Board the complaints of the Nabob Vizier and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, against the public representative of this government at his court, which the Governor-general had received

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received at different periods prior to their being communicated to the Board, I immediately perused the former proceedings on the subject, and especially the instructions dictated by the Governor-general himself to Mr. Middleton the late, and Mr. Bristow the present, Resident; instructions directing measures to be pursued of a general, strong, and extensive nature. These instructions were, I conceive, for his conduct at the court of Asuph Ul Dowlah, a prince of very doubtful private character, and avowedly known to be labouring under the most abject subjection to his minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, who is also painted in very strong colours in these very instructions, which I earnestly recommend to the attentive perusal of the Court of Directors. To have recalled Mr. Bristow, whose conduct was highly commendable and meritorious when he acted in the same capacity in the year 1775 and 1776, on the simple allegations and intrigues of such characters, I conceive would be destructive to the public interest, and render our government contemptible. After re-considering this subject, and after an attentive re-perusal of the instructions for Mr. Bristow's conduct, I adhere to the sentiments I before delivered in my minutes of the 19th and 22d of May, 31st of July, and 4th of September, without any apprehension that I shall be numbered among the oppressors of the princes in India..

I cannot pass unnoticed the following expression in the Governor-general's minute:—" As to my intentions, " and their real objects, I affirm that they have been " wholly neglected, nor has any use been made of them, " but to pervert them to designs of which I know not the " authority, nor can devise any other end, but private " rapacity." This expression, I imagine, alludes to the conduct of Mr. Bristow, although no fact is brought in support of such an insinuation. I can only observe for the present, that if, upon sufficient proof, the Resident shall be convicted of private rapacity, I shall deem him unworthy of the trust committed to his charge, and shall readily vote with the Governor-general for his recall. The Governor-general thinks himself aggrieved by Mr. Bristow's continual appeal to his instructions as the rule and warrant of his conduct: I beg leave to premise, without wishing to offend, or having a desire to diminish the powers legally vested in the executive member of this administration, that the instructions to the Resident at the court of Oude, when read and approved by the members of the Board, became the instructions of the Board at large, and not of the Governor-general as an individual; and that until they are revoked or annulled by a majority of the Board, I conceive the Resident is justified

in quoting them as authority for his conduct. At the ſame time, if there are any reformations or regulations enjoined in the inſtructions, which are not neceſſary for the correction of the enormous abuſes that are too well known to prevail in the Nabob Vizier's country, I ſhall chearfully concur with the other members of the Board in altering them.

Reſpecting what is delivered in the Governor-general's minute, wherein he ſolemnly declares, that the powers of this government are not in his hands, nor exerciſed by the principles which he profeſſes, I ſhall be totally ſilent, ſubmitting the ſame entirely to the deciſion of the Court of Directors; to whoſe judgment, with reſpect and deference, I appeal, and who, I truſt and hope, will think it abſolutely neceſſary to order a thorough and compleat inveſtigation into the whole of the tranſactions at the court of Oude, reſpecting the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter.

A true copy.
E. Hay,
Acting Sec. to the Secret Dept.

Governor-general. 2d Nov. 1783.

Mr. Stables's minute, dated the 24th of October, and Mr. Macpherſon's, dated the 20th, were delivered to me by the ſecretary; the firſt on the 27th, and the laſt on the 28th of the ſame month, being the ſame days on which I underſtand them to have been received. I ſhall make ſome obſervations on both.

It is in the firſt place incumbent on me to clear Major Palmer from the offence of having intentionally caſt any reflection on a member of the Board, by a ſuppoſition of his having tranſmitted to Mr. Briſtow the charges which had been preferred againſt him. Major Palmer intimated this in a familiar note, written on an occaſion obviouſly leading to it, and to a man ſtanding in the relation of an intimate friend: it ought not to have paſſed the breaſt of this friend, nor would it have been made public, but for the diſingenuous uſe which he made of it. At the ſame time I will ſo far juſtify Major Palmer by my own teſtimony, as to declare that I did myſelf expect that Mr. Macpherſon would apprize Mr. Briſtow of the charges; and as it was written by Mr. Briſtow's recriminatory letter of 13th of May laſt, that he had received early notice of them from ſome channel, I did as naturally conclude that the information reached him through that of Mr. Macpherſon, but did not in that inſtance impute to him any breach of official truſt.

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I am happy that I can undeceive Mr. Macpherfon in the opinion which he has entertained of the new rights derived to the French from the preliminary treaty. The 13th article, which prefcribes the mode of their return to Bengal, fimply reftores them to the privileges which they before held with their former poffeffions, but expreffes no new conditions added to them; nor can they, by any conftruction, lay claim to any not expreffed; for this article is not, as others are, reciprocal, but binding on our nation only for the allowance of the French to their readmiffion into a territory of Britifh jurifdiction. But whatever ground there may have been for a contrary fuppofition, it is now removed beyond all reach of argument, or poffibility of doubt, by the exprefs authority of the Court of Directors, in their circular letter of the 6th of March, in which they declare in terms, that "by this ftipulation "no intention is entertained on the part of France, to "erect a fortification, or to introduce a force which can "give juft caufe of alarm to our government, the in"tended eftablifhment being entirely commercial." As little ground is there, on the other hand, for any apprehenfion of a confederacy of the powers of the French and the Nabob Afoph ul Dowlah againft this government. The refpect which I bear to Mr. Macpherfon's talents will not allow me to believe, that he would deliberately ufe this as an argument, or that he would have applied it even in diftant allufion, but as it was required to give effect to one of greater force. As juftly may the government of Fort St. George deprive the Nabob Wallajau of his inheritance, left he fhould unite his arms to thofe of the French at Pondicherry. The condition of both princes is equally deftitute, and equally oppreffed, and the humiliation of their remonftrances fhews them to be equally hopelefs of any redrefs, but in the mercy of their oppreffors.

Another reafon urged for continuing the eftablifhment of a Refident at Oude is, that "the meafure has been "long adopted." I have been long accuftomed to war with words: the Refident whom I firft appointed was placed there for the purpofes of maintaining the good underftanding which had recently taken root between the two governments, and of guarding that of Oude againft vexation from that of our's—it is an abufe of terms to plead the right or neceffity of prefcription for the continuance of an office which exifts only in the name, but with its original powers and objects inverted.

"I am ignorant of any late directions from the Court "of Directors, by which the meafure is now rendered "more indifpenfable." They have indeed prefcribed the

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payment of the penſions aſſigned to the Begums through the Reſident, and an aſylum to be granted to them if they require it, in our provinces. Both purpoſes can be as completely and eaſily fulfilled without a Reſident as with one, ſince there muſt be ſome office or channel for the receipt of much larger ſums from the Nabob Vizier than the Begums penſions, and for the grant of an aſylum to them in our own provinces. The command of the Court of Directors, without any other intervention, would be ſufficient; and the Nabob, in the caſe of neceſſity ſuppoſed to require it, would be as glad to be freed from them as they to leave him.

What follows in the minute now under examination, involves a poſition not affirmed, but too pointedly marked to be miſſed. It is that, " the internal interference of " our agents with the affairs of the countries of our coun- " try dependent allies," is neceſſary to their better adminiſtration. This poſition, which I have ſtated in terms borrowed, but tranſpoſed from the words of the minute, applies equally to the Nabob Wallajau as to Nabob Aſoph ul Dowlah. Indeed the caſes are too ſimilar to admit of a principle reſpecting one, that will not equally apply to both; yet I did believe that the ſentiments of the members of this government were unanimous concerning the treatment ſuffered by the former.

When a doctrine is held which is contrary to the common principles of moral, or even of political rectitude, the reſpect which is due to the opinions of mankind, and the reverence which is due in a higher degree to authority, require both that there ſhould be good and ſtrong grounds for the deviation, and that they ſhould be clearly demonſtrated. I know no grounds that will juſtify this, nor are any aſſigned; and I may therefore alſo, without aſſigning any reaſon, in ſtrict rule, deny the right of any power or ſtate upon earth to uſurp the adminiſtration of another, becauſe it can better adminiſter it than its proper adminiſtration. I alſo take upon me to deny that any advantages, whether reciprocal or ſeparate, of ſuch an uſurpation, can compenſate for the injuries which will be ſuſtained by it in the effects of " oppoſite and claſhing " authorities," if theſe are allowed to exiſt with it, or to the ſacrifice of public faith, if it is declared and abſolute.

But neither is it allowable in the preſent caſe, on any ground of ſpecific engagement, though this is implied by the following paragraph:—" Had the Vizier and his mi- " niſter been found competent to ſecure the peace and " good management of the Nabobſhip of Owde, on the " bottom and principles of the Chunar treaty, it would " not have been found neceſſary to have charged Mr.

" Briſtow,

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" Briſtow with the powers which his inſtructions gave
" him, and which bound him at leaſt to attempt to intro-
" duce a new and a better ſyſtem."

What bottom?—what principles of the Chunar treaty requires that Mr. Briſtow ſhould ſecure the peace and good management of the Nabobſhip of Owde, and for theſe purpoſes to exclude the authority of the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſter, as incompetent?—I have proved, in long and detailed argument, that no ſuch right, and much leſs obligation, was conveyed by the treaty, and my expoſitions of it, in repeated letters and other declarations to the Nabob, made before Mr. Briſtow's appointment, abſolutely diſclaim it.—What powers was Mr. Briſtow charged with in his inſtructions? I have uſed many arguments to prove that I never gave, as I know beyond all power of argument that I never intended to give, to Mr. Briſtow, any authority to exerciſe "an internal interference in the affairs of the government of Owde." To thoſe proofs I appeal, and with ſome plea for complaint, that while thoſe remain unanſwered, as I believe them to be unanſwerable, Mr. Briſtow's powers, derived from my inſtructions, ſhould ſtill be quoted in alluſion, as to a fact eſtabliſhed and admitted.

Though Mr. Macpherſon diſclaims the intention of " entering into a diſcuſſion of any new ground, to ſhew " the advantage to the public from the eſtabliſhment of a " Reſident at Owde," yet I believe he has run over every ground, whether new or old, and both of expediency and of right, which could tend to juſtify the eſtabliſhment and the continuation of it, viz. the danger of French intrigues, and of the power of the Nabob Vizier united with the French; preſcription; the late orders of the Court of Directors; the incompetency of the adminiſtration of the Nabob Vizier and of his miniſter; the treaty of Chunar; and Mr. Briſtow's inſtructions;—and to theſe I have fully and diſtinctly replied.

I am now compelled, not unwillingly, to take notice of an argument urged in juſtification of Mr. Briſtow, which eſcaped my attention when I wrote my examination of his defence. This argument is uſed in the former minutes, and repeated in thoſe now before me. I ſhall ſtate it in Mr. Macpherſon's words:—

" His repreſentations to the Board of the ſtate in which
" he found the country, of his expectations and endea-
" vours to carry through the expected arrangements, and
" of the difficulties that lay in his way; theſe repreſen-
" tations, which the Board received in detail, without
" any diſapprobation of his proceedings, and more par-
" ticularly the independence which he maintained againſt

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"a minister, whose influence existed in the abuses com-
"plained of, were the grounds upon which Mr. Bristow
"appeared to have been entitled to support."

I have already observed, on a similar plea made by Mr. Bristow, concerning the appointment of Mahmud Beg, a trooper, to the Sezawelee of Furruckabad, that "it was "very true that Mr. Bristow had informed the Board of "this appointment, and obtained the approbation of it; "and so he might of any other transaction, however "exceptionable, by suppressing every information which "could render it such." This is precisely the character of every representation which Mr. Bristow ever made to the Board, until he was apprized of the complaints which were written against him.—His letters contain frequent references to measures which he advised, to plans which he recommended, and to acts requiring his participation, in which he acquiesced, at the solicitation of the Nabob, but not one which afforded the Board the slightest intimation of his using, or intending to use, his own authority. It was not till very late that I knew what had passed; for the Nabob and his minister ceased to correspond with me, and I had other cares which drew off my attention from that quarter. I naturally approved the letters, for I saw nothing in them to disapprove; for however exceptionable his measures were (to repeat my former words) he had precluded all objection, by the suppression of every information which could render them such. I will instance one letter, because it has been particularly mentioned by Mr. Stables, as producing the fullest warrant for his acts, by the detailed information given of them, and no disapprobation of the Board following it. The truth is, that I knew no more of the contents of the letter than Mr. Stables; but had it been laid before the Board in its proper time, I should have approved it; for it conveyed, and with the most guarded expression, the construction of a line of conduct agreeing with my own sentiments, and diametrically opposite to that which he did actually observe, and for which he is now defended on the plea of expediency, the ground of his instructions, and the right of treaty.

The following extracts, from Mr. Bristow's letter to the Board, dated the 21st of January 1783, which is that in question, will prove what I have advanced:

"And I shall now submit to your consideration the "plans which I think it my duty to recommend to the "Vizier."

"I have procured an assignment in their favour for "nine lacks of rupees."

Memorandum.

Memorandum. This is the aſſignment which Mr. Briſtow is charged with having obtained, by compelling the Miniſter to iſſue the Nabob's Shokas or mandates for them without his knowledge, and which the Nabob afterwards prevailed upon Mr. Briſtow, by other ſacrifices, to withdraw and cancel.

"This corps being likewiſe on the ſpot, the Vizier "may in perſon review and muſter them, in which I "propoſe having the honour to attend him."

"I have procured certain funds for the payment of his "corps, and ſhall ſtrongly recommend it to the Vizier "to withdraw the detachments of his Raſſelah from the "interior parts of the country, &c."

"I ſhall, without further delay, adviſe the Vizier to "aboliſh the practiſe of detaching troops in ſmall bodies."

"The honourable Governor-general's commands of "23d September 1781, directing that the Vizier ſhould "be adviſed to aboliſh the ſyſtem of aſſignments to his "Mootayena."

"Probably the end of the year, as required, before "his Excellency will be able totally to aboliſh the ſyſtem "of aſſignments. In ſuch inſtance, where it can be immediately executed, I ſhall exert my endeavours to perſuade the Vizier no longer to poſtpone ſo neceſſary a "meaſure."

"Unleſs the Vizier acts directly in the buſineſs, my "making the circuit of ſuch diſtricts as are the moſt deſerving his attention, and deputing confidential agents "to the remainder, the evil would be a long time before "it could be completely remedied."

"I hope the advantage to be derived from it will appear ſo evident to his Excellency, that he will not only "ſincerely and heartily aſſent to the meaſure, but ſupport "it by every exertion of his authority."

"I now beg leave to ſubmit to your conſideration the "heads of the plan which I have recommended to the "Vizier."

"Or any great officer of ſtate to whom you may direct "me to adviſe the Vizier to intruſt ſo important a "charge."

"This is the outline of the plan I have propoſed for "regulating the Vizier's houſehold."

In the preceding extracts an uninformed reader would naturally conclude, that Mr. Briſtow acted ſolely as the Nabob's adviſer and aſſiſtant, with the full concurrence of he Nabob, and hearty acquieſcence in his aſſiſtance; for the Nabob is ſtated to be the actor and the principal, and

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and Mr. Briſtow's interference following, as a point of conſequent duty.

Yet, will it be believed, that almoſt every act thus repreſented was forced upon the Nabob againſt his will, and forms the material part of his complaints againſt Mr. Briſtow, for the uſurpation of his ſovereignty, and inſult on his perſon?

I deſire that the other letters of Mr. Briſtow may be tried by the ſame teſt; they will terminate in the ſame conviction.

I certainly meant not, by any expreſſion in my former minute, to charge Mr. Briſtow, or any other perſon, with private rapacity; nor do I know why ſo much ſtreſs is laid on it in both the minutes now before me. Had I known, and could I have proved any inſtance of private rapacity, I would have affirmed it in plain terms. I never inſinuate, nor in the whole courſe of my political conteſts have I ever deſcended to the uſe of an expreſſion meant to convey a ſenſe, which I wiſhed to elude in the direct expreſſion of it. I have ſomewhere affirmed, and I now repeat, that the power claimed and exerciſed by Mr. Briſtow may ſerve the purpoſes of private rapacity, and can ſerve no other purpoſe. It will not be denied that the abſolute power of receiving and diſburſing all the public wealth of the province may be converted to that purpoſe, and that it will require an approved integrity to withſtand ſo ſtrong a temptation; and it demands an evidence ſtronger than Mr. Briſtow's aſſertion, or even the judgment of the Board confirming it, to prove that the Company's debt cannot be realized without it.

On the moderation of the majority of the Board, as it reſpects their intention, I cannot judge: it is true that they have neither directed Mr. Briſtow to urge the Vizier to remove his miniſter, nor to proſecute him, on the plea of making him account for his paſt adminiſtration (a dreadful ſuggeſtion, even though Mr. Briſtow ſhould not be his judge) nor by any ſpecific act diveſted the Vizier and his adminiſtration of much of their wonted authority, neither was it neceſſary; they have rejected the appeal of the Vizier and his miniſter, and left Mr. Briſtow in the poſſeſſion of an uncontrouled and irreſiſtible authority, which requires no further interpoſition of the powers of the Board, than that which may ſerve for the purpoſe for which it is ſince ſolicited, of the gratification of private vengeance. What may be yet in the intention of the Board, I know not; and ſcarcely dare to truſt to my imagination in the apprehenſion of what evils may yet lie concealed beyond the clouds which involve this tranſaction in the actual ſtate of it. I will however ſo far truſt, with a degree of aſſurance, to the moderation of the

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the majority, that they will hesitate at least to give a more decided sanction to the acts of Mr. Bristow, after the recent experience which they have received of his intemperance in his last letter.

I regret the time which I have bestowed on this subject, and yet more the quantity of matter composing it, in which the truth suffers the risk of being wholly lost. Yet, whatever may be the result, I am resolved that I will devote what further portion of labour may be exacted from me, and my health and strength will allow, to the last defence of a cause which I deem the cause of honour and humanity.

In the mean time, that the question with which it originated may not be forgotten in the voluminous discussion of it, I will hereto subjoin the terms of it.

The Nabob Vizier complains, that Mr. Bristow has assumed the powers of his government, and the sanction of his name and seal, without his authority or knowledge, insulted his person, and thrown his country into disorder; and as the debt which is due and growing from the Nabob to the Company is used as the pretext for this violent conduct, he has offered to give the security of Bankers of honour, credit, and responsibility, for the regular and full discharge of the debt; requesting, as the condition of this engagement, that he may be freed from the presence and oppressions of Mr. Bristow, and his assistant Mr. Cowper. I maintain that we ought to accept this offer, and the other members of the Board reject it.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Dept.

The Governor General lays before the Board the following letter and enclosure from the Nabob Vizier.

From the Nabob Vizier; received November 29th 1783.

Usual introduction.

In all due attention to the rights of friendship towards the Company, the gentlemen of the Council, and yourself, I have at no time been deficient from my regard thereto; I have so acted as to give satisfaction to the gentlemen heretofore appointed to this place, and they likewise, in managing the concerns of the Company, attended to the preservation of my honour and dignities, so that there was no opportunity for censure or complaint on either side.

In the year 1189 Fussulle, Mr. Johnson adopted certain measures calculated to bring disgrace upon me, which being

being made known to the gentlemen of the Council and yourself, your equity and kindness induced you to call the above gentleman to an account. Mr. Bristow, from the time of his arrival has done, and still does, every thing that can tend to depreciate my authority. Repeated accounts have been transmitted to you of his injurious conduct; but as yet no justice has been done, or due notice taken of them, and the above gentleman is now, more than ever, bent on involving me in new difficulties and disgrace.

I have always been in want to discharge the Company's Tunkaw by assignments on the Aumils of my Sircar; and the amount received from them being placed to my credit in the Company's accounts by their former Residents, they again received Juaidaud from me for the balances that might remain. If the assignments on the Aumils fell short from any unforeseen accidents, the Resident did not require the deficiency from them, for there could have been no advantage in so doing; and thus the Company's concerns were well conducted. Mr. Bristow, without my knowledge or consent, has thought proper to put Khaujah Ain-ud Deen, Aumil of Bareily, &c. in the province of Rohilcund, under confinement. To detail the particulars of this transaction would be tedious.

He has proceeded thus against the Khaujah on accusations false and groundless. No objections have been made by me to peremptorily and threateningly calling on my Aumil for the payment of his monies; on the contrary, I myself so call on them, when necessary; but Mr. Bristow has, of his own accord, confined this Aumil, and still keeps him in confinement; and having included his balance in the accounts of the present year, has forcibly taken Jauidaud from me, and he means not to leave me any thing for my necessary expences. Having agreed to his requisition of Jauidaud for the Khauja's balance, which he had added to the accounts of the present year, I repeatedly, by letter and message, applied for his release, but he still keeps him in confinement. To your candour I refer the consideration of the disgrace thus thrown upon me in consequence of his thus imprisoning my Aumils by his own authority; a mode of proceeding never adopted by any of his predecessors. The Aumils dependant upon my Sircar are loaded with dishonour, whilst those dependant on Mr. Bristow, such as Ismael Beg, and others, who were appointed in the last year only, and who, though there has been no drought in their Mahals, have greatly reduced the established Jumma, have far exceeded the usual allowances for expences, and have fallen in arrears of the payment of the Company's Tunkaw

kaw granted on them, are still continued in possession of their Mahals, and are his confidential ministers and advisers. No demand is made on them for the deficiency of Jumma, increase of expences, or balance of the Company's Tunkaw; but the latter is charged on me included in the accounts of the present year, and Jauidaud required for the amount; to which I have not the power to object. Others of his measures and orders are as follows: I have always been wont to discharge a part of the Company's Tunkaw by Jauidaud, on the payments of Almass Ali Khan, from which I likewise received a part for my own expences. This year Mr. Bristow has withheld my Jardaad for the latter my necessary disbursements; and though I have repeatedly desired him, both by letter and message, to take a part only of the payments from Ilmass Ali Cawn into the Company's Tunkaw, as heretofore, to let me receive a part from my expences, he will not comply; but has written to Ilmass Ali Khan, saying, "I will receive the whole of the monies due "from you; you will pay no part thereof to any person "whatever, if you do I will not give you credit for it "in your accounts." He likewise laid injunctions on Ilmas Ali Khan's Vackeel, saying, "if his Highness re-"quires any money from thence, you shall not give it." Thus having put a stop to my necessary expences, and issued orders declaring, that if any thing was paid to my order, it should not be admitted in account;—what authority is left me, either with the Aumils or the people? Add to the foregoing, that the difficulties I labour under from the present scarcity are such as require my most earnest supplication to God. One other of the above gentleman's proceedings is as follows: the change and dismission of Aumils was talked of and determined by him in the month of Jeyte; and those who assisted him with their advice were all of them encouraged to expect employment. The engagements entered into for the year expired at the end of Badvon; and the Zemindars and Ryots, always ready to take advantage of events, hearing of the proposed new arrangement, withheld the payment of their monies; at length, in consequence of Mr. Bristow's injunctions, the change of Aumils was entered upon; such well founded reasons as were offered in opposition on this head, were disregarded by him: I was left without remedy, and acted as he directed. By this measure large balances remained due from the country on the remaining Kists of the past year, which has become a plea for deduction with the present Aumils. Thus I have suffered the loss of lacks of rupees; and Mr. Bristow having carried the balances of the Aumils to my account in the

accounts

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accounts of the present year, exacts Jardaad from me, and I am unable to object to it.

These measures and proceedings of the above gentleman are not done without deliberation and design. To enter into particulars would be endless. In addition to this, every one is impeached by him with multiform, false, and groundless accusations. Thus situated, let me conjure your equitable interposition. How can I support my existence now that Mr. Bristow's prosecutions, and my disgrace, are arrived at the pitch they are? I implore redress; let me obtain justice.

Concludes as usual.

* * * * * *

Governor-general.—Mr. Bristow, in the letter last read, avowedly mentions both his previous intention of confining Khauja Ain ul Deen, one of the Nabob's principal Aumils; his actual execution of that intention; the Nabob's application, in writing, to Mr. Bristow for the release of the Aumil; and Mr. Bristow's refusal to comply with it. The Nabob also complains of this transaction in the letter to me, which is entered above; and of a letter written by Mr. Bristow to Almass Ally Cawn, containing the declaration of his intention to take the full produce of the Mahals which were under Almass's charge, for part of the Company's assignment, with a dictatorial prohibition to give any part of the produce of it without his (Mr. Bristow's) permission.

These are acts of power so contrary to every pretension that this government can assert, or has ever authorized Mr. Bristow to exercise, that I must request the Board to determine, whether they have or have not their sanction, and whether he shall be hereafter permitted to exercise the like power independantly of the Nabob, and without respect to his concurrence. This, in effect, will determine the question which I have proposed in my first minute.

I must also take notice of the reasons assigned by Mr. Bristow for refusing to comply with the Nabob's requisition for the release of Khaujah Ain u Deen; namely, "that the Nabob's letters may, in the words of his instructions, be considered as dictated by Hyder Beg Cawn." A similar expression occurs in a former letter of Mr. Bristow's, dated 14th October; in which he says, "Had the salutary orders of the honourable the Governor-general been received with a cordiality at this court equal to the zeal and earnestness with which they were proposed; and a steadiness shewn by the prince in the execution of them, answerable to the wisdom of the counsel which produced them, the affairs of Oude

"would

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"would long have aſſumed an aſpect very different from "that in which they now appear." This indecent and very diſreſpectful alluſion to my orders for acts done in groſs and ſhameful violation of them, cannot receive the countenance of the Board; for, ſurely, it is indecent and diſreſpectful, after the paſt complaints, made by myſelf as well as the Nabob, againſt Mr. Briſtow, for his perverſion and diſobedience to my orders, to appeal to them for his warrant, with epithets of affected praiſe; nor is his diſobedience of my expreſs injunction to act in every inſtance in conformity to the Nabob's will and inclinations palliated, but, on the contrary, exaggerated, by his alluſion to a remote obſervation made by me upon a different and ſpecial ſubject, and neither expreſſing nor implying any inſtruction for his conduct.

For theſe reaſons, and becauſe I do moſt ſolemnly declare, that Mr. Briſtow does not either confine himſelf to my inſtructions, or pay the leaſt regard to them, I do again conjure the Board to determine the line of his conduct, and to give him ſuch inſtructions as in their judgment ſhall be proper and requiſite for the effectual execution of the ſyſtem which he has himſelf eſtabliſhed, and which the Board has hitherto permitted, if it be their determination that ſuch a ſyſtem ſhall be maintained; or ſuch other inſtructions as in their better judgment they ſhall think proper to frame; and this I conceive to have become indiſpenſably neceſſary, by the application made by Mr. Briſtow himſelf for his guidance on the occaſion of the declaration made to him by me, in conformity to one made ſome time preceding by myſelf to the Board, that the inſtructions under which he acted, or pretended to act, were no longer my inſtructions.

Some reply muſt be made to this reference, or Mr. Briſtow will be left without authority, and (what is worſe) without a controul; therefore, the Board muſt either adopt thoſe inſtructions, and call them their own, or muſt give others. If they declare them to be their own, it will be neceſſary to explain thoſe parts which are conſtrued by Mr. Briſtow in a ſenſe which I have affirmed, and do affirm, to be contradictory of my own; and as I have no longer the right or power of explaining my own inſtructions, it ſeems to be but reaſonable that the Board, having approved the line of conduct purſued by Mr. Briſtow, ſhould either explain their ſenſe of thoſe inſtructions, or give him new.

I forbear, in this place, to ſtate the points which will require the determination of the Board, becauſe they might lead to a diſagreeable as well as unprofitable diſcuſſion, which I yet hope may be avoided.

Ordered,

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Ordered, That the foregoing minute from the Governor-general be sent in circulation.

Read again the Governor-general's minute, entered in consultation 6th of October last, proposing the appointment of Mr. Wills to be Resident at Furruckabad, with the papers accompanying it.

Ordered, That these papers be circulated to the members of the Board.

Consultations, 27th December 1783.

THE following minute having been delivered on 23d instant to the secretary, by Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Stables, with orders to take it to the Governor-general, was shewn by the secretary to the Governor-general accordingly.

The subject of the Governor-general's minutes of the 16th December, and the alternatives which he states to be necessary for the Board to adopt, relative to the management of affairs in the Nabob Vizier's country, are so important, that we agree to take the same into our serious consideration, and we propose to record our opinion thereon at the next meeting of the Board in this department. The letter from Mr. Bristow of the 10th December, and sent in circulation, calls for some decided resolution upon these subjects.

(Signed) { Edward Wheler,
John Macpherson,
John Stables.

The following minute, prepared by the Governor-general, previous to his seeing the foregoing minute from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson, and Mr. Stables, was circulated by his orders to the other members of the Board on the 23d instant.

Governor-general.—Mr. Bristow's representation of the conduct of the Bankers, in the letter last addressed to the Board, and his preceding letter of the 14th October, is so consistent with his usual dealing with the Board, that I will unravel it for the conviction of the Board, and hope that they will not fail to take due notice of it: I must premise that he is in charge of the most important station in the service, both with relation to its political magnitude, and the great pecuniary interest attached to it; and that therefore his reports ought to be both regular, complete, and strictly just, in every point of business, and that the neglect of this duty, but more especially a perversion of it, is in the highest degree criminal.

Mr.

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Mr. Briſtow, in his letter of the 14th October, after ſtating that Gopaul Doſs, the banker, had lent to the Company fifteen lacks of rupees in June laſt, and promiſed as much more at a ſhort period as ſhould make the loan 30 lacks complete, complained that he both valued the performance of this condition, agreement, and engagement (for ſuch are the terms which he variouſly uſes in the ſame ſentence) and had even preſumed to demand payment of the firſt loan.

The Board in their reply, dated the 21ſt November, required a copy of the engagement on which Mr. Briſtow founds his claim; and how does he anſwer it? he refers the Board for information to an extract from a letter written to the Board on the 3d of June, which ſtates the original tranſaction in a light totally different; and adds the Board's anſwer, approving the loan; a tranſlation of the bond given by him for the firſt loan, engaging to repay it in the manner claimed by Gopaul Doſs; and tranſmits a further extract of his letter of the 14th of October, containing his repreſentation of the failure of engagement on the part of Gopaul Doſs. But though he quotes the order of the Board, directing him to tranſmit "copies "of the engagement with Gopaul Doſs, and to explain "in the cleareſt manner all the circumſtances attending "this tranſaction;" and immediately ſubjoins his reply in terms which mark an intention to give the ſatisfaction thus pointedly required; yet he neither tranſmits copies of the engagement, nor gives any explanation of the tranſaction: but as he has neglected his duty of reſpect, at leaſt, if not of obedience, I will do it for him; and ſhew that he has either indecently miſrepreſented the whole tranſaction, or, which I rather hope will prove to be the caſe, has perplexed and confounded the ſubject by his eagerneſs to force it to a connection with his favourite object, the crimination of Hyder Beg Cawn. My expoſition ſhall not embarraſs the Board, nor fatigue their attention: for it ſhall be confined to the materials furniſhed by Mr. Briſtow himſelf, in the diſpatch immediately before us.

In the extract of his letter to the Board, dated the 3d of June, he mentioned his "having concluded an agree"ment with the houſe of Gopaul Doſs for fifteen lacks "of rupees, that he expected to receive the bills in the "courſe of two or three days, and ſhould then commence "another negociation for 15 lacks more; and ſo on, un"til he obtained as large a ſum as he was able, &c." That "he did not chuſe to inform the bankers of the ſum total he "muſt require, as they would have exacted higher terms "than he ſhould think it juſtifiable to grant;" and that "the

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"the plan which he proposed for the repayment of the "bankers was, to engage that, after supplying the dis- "bursements of the troops under the command of Colo- "nel Morgan, and Colonel Sir John Cumming, and the "expences of the Resident's office, all surplus receipts "shall be paid to them;" and this engagement appears accordingly concluded in the terms of the bond.

Nothing can be clearer nor less ambiguous than this explanation of the transaction, when it was offered as a proposition for the option of the Board. The engagement is stated in terms to be limited to 15 lacks; and the intention of extending it is also declared to have been most cautiously withheld from the knowledge of the bankers, and the condition of payment is defined; yet in the reviewal of this transaction on the 14th of October, Mr. Bristow affirms, that "when in June last he pro- "cured from the house of Gopaul Doss the sum of 15 "lacks of rupees, he had a promise of so much more, at a "short period, as should make the loan to our government "30 lacks complete:" adding, that Gopaul Doss had broke his engagement, and even demanded payment of the sum of the actual loan; and he connects this information with the charge of breach of engagement in such a manner, as implies the same criminal construction of it, though he at the same time furnished the Board with the most ample warrants for Gopaul Doss in making the demand for payment, in his confession of the original engagement, and in the translation of the bond which expresses the condition of payment, and which allows only a preference to the charge of the two military corps and of his own office, after which it was positively agreed to apply the produce of the growing collections to the discharge of the bond.

I pass over Mr. Bristow's charges against Gopaul Doss for the insolence of employing an agent of his own nomination, in opposition to the choice of Mr. Bristow, and for "abandoning those prudent maxims by which "alone as merchants they ought to have regulated their "conduct," in declining to trust Mr. Bristow with a second loan of 15 lacks (no small sum, nor the proper subject of personal compliment) after the refusal to discharge the first. The claim of right to dictate to a banker, whom he shall employ as the agent of his affairs, and to appropriate all the money which the banker can raise, and for which he himself has occasion, loses both its degree and quality of presumption in its comparison with the usurpation of the rights and power of an independent state, and with the insolence which could prescribe to a sovereign prince the number of horses which he should be allowed

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allowed to ride, or the dishes which should be cooked for his table. While I remark the inconsistency of Mr. Bristow's representation, I am yet willing to suppose, as I before suggested, that he may have erred in the expression, but not in the fact, and that he may mean to allude to some agreement made by Gopaul Doss, after the settlement and advance of the first loan, though he affirms them to have taken place at the same time: but to establish this solution of the difficulty, it will still remain to prove that Gopaul Doss did engage to make a further loan; and for this purpose, Mr. Bristow must comply with the orders already so clearly expressed in our letter of the 25th November, "to transmit copies of the engagement with "Gopaul Doss, and to explain in the clearest manner "all the circumstances attending this transaction." It is not the custom of bankers to make verbal engagements; and Salla Cashaul Chund, Gopaul Doss's agent, has assured me, on the authority of his master, that he made no such engagement.

The following minute, from the Governor-general, was sent with the foregoing on the 23d instant, to the other members of the Board, for their perusal.

Governor-general.

The subject of Mr. Bristow's letter of the 1st of November is alarming, not on account of its immediate effects, for they are past, but as it indicates so total a dissolution of the powers of the Vizier's government as must have a tendency to excite similar and repeated instances of sedition. I shall make but one brief remark upon Mr. Bristow's state of this transaction, which is, that a tumult of the most flagitious kind was suffered to manifest itself in a gradual progress of some months, till it grew to such magnitude as threatened the life of the Nabob Vizier himself, during a period, as Mr. Bristow's letter states, of three days, and I have reason to believe that it was of it yet longer duration; and that Mr. Bristow, in all this important interval, appears to have stood by a quiet passive spectator, although he had a regiment of the Company's Sepoys, and his own body guard, which is nearly equal to a regiment of Sepoys, at his instant command; and might with such a force have repelled the whole strength of the Nabob Vizier's military establishment, had it been united in so loose and unconnected a species of hostility. This is a point which he ought to explain; for if he had it in his power to suppress the meeting, and did not, his conduct was criminal in the last degree; if otherwise, it concerns both his credit and

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the honour of our government that the doubts which he has thrown on his own conduct ſhould be removed by a clear expoſition of it.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 31ſt December 1783.

THE following minute having been received by the ſecretary, on the 28th inſtant, at noon, from Mr. Wheler, Mr. M'Pherſon, and Mr. Stables, it was ſent immediately by the ſecretary to the Governor-general: and the minute in reply to it, which is entered after it, having been received from the Governor-general in the evening, was immediately circulated to the other members of the Board.

The Governor-general, in his minute of the 16th inſtant, having declined propoſing or joining in any order that may be iſſued concerning the advices lately received from Oude; having likewiſe ſtated a neceſſity which may exiſt, for authorizing Mr. Briſtow, in the event of our ſupport of him in the authority which he exerciſes, to aſſume avowedly the government of the Vizier's country, and to appoint agents and officers of government in the name of the Company; and having called upon us to adopt the inſtructions given to Mr. Briſtow, and call them thoſe of the Board (diſavowing them to be any longer thoſe of the Governor-general) or to make out other inſtructions for the guidance of Mr. Briſtow;—we deem it neceſſary to take theſe reſpective ſubjects into our moſt ſerious conſideration, and to conſider maturely what meaſures are moſt likely, in the preſent diſtreſſed ſituation of the Company's finances, to recover the heavy balances due to them by the Vizier, and to ſecure the tranquillity of his dominions.

As it is our moſt earneſt wiſh that ſuch meaſures ſhould be adopted, and as we ſhould think ourſelves more fortunate in meeting any arrangement that may favour the public good, and coincide with the Governor-general's ſentiments, than to eſtabliſh, on the cleareſt ground of argument, the force and juſtice of the opinions which we have already recorded relative to the affairs of Oude, we ſhall not recapitulate here what is already in reference to the Court of Directors; we ſhall not dwell on thoſe obligations which bind every member of the government to adopt and ſupport the reſolutions of the majority of its members; uor ſhall we even regret that the Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn ſhould ultimately prevail in effecting the removal of the public miniſter of this government from Lucknow, if that removal can be productive of real and

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and immediate advantage to the Company, and of more unanimity in our councils.

Upon the same principles we hope, if it shall be the mature and decided resolution of this government to continue the present Resident at Lucknow, and give him the instructions and powers which the occasion renders necessary for the recovery of the Company's balances, and the regular payment of their troops, that the Governor-general will not think of withdrawing the very essential support of his name and authority from those measures which the majority of the Board may think requisite for the maintenance of the Company's interests in Oude. To withhold that support, would be in effect to render our utmost exertions of no public utility; for as it has been the custom to carry on all correspondence with the Vizier in the name and under the seal of the Governor-general, a deviation from this rule would not only invalidate the force of our representations, but leave ground for those evils which are to be removed.

The object of appointing a Resident at the Vizier's court, as well as of the instructions which should be the guide of his conduct, must be principally directed to the payment of the Company's claims upon the Vizier, and the good order of his government.

Mr. Bristow, appointed to this station by the Company, and furnished with the most ample powers and instructions, has not succeeded in recovering the Company's balances, or in acting to the satisfaction of the native administration of the Vizier's country. The Vizier and his acting minister have complained against him, and request not only his removal from Oude, but that the English residency should be entirely withdrawn. Mr. Bristow has on the other hand stated the oppositions he has met with in carrying through the measures which he understood to be recommended to him in his instructions; and he now states, in various representations, that unless he is fully authorized and supported by this government, he cannot secure the necessary receipts of money and provision for the absolute wants of the troops, which the Company have stationed for the protection of the Vizier's country, and to prevent evils the most alarming to the public interest.

The alternative, therefore, which the Governor-general has stated, in his minutes of the 16th December, presses the adoption in one way or other. In other words, this government must effectually resolve to trust to the Vizier's administration for the payment of the Company's claims, and the maintenance of their troops in his country, or the Resident must be ordered to exercise the powers of his

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office, to recover thofe affignments that have been granted on the Vizier's revenues, by making the Aumils anfwerable to the Company for the debt.

As we have approved of Mr. Briftow's management hitherto, and as that approbation has been fully ftated upon the Company's records, and as we have further a high opinion of the merits and integrity of Mr. Cowper, nominated by the Company to fucceed Mr. Briftow, we cannot think ourfelves juftified in affenting to their removal at the requeft of the Vizier's adminiftration, if the object of that removal was merely a change of agents. On the contrary, the oppofition of Hyder Beg Cawn to thefe gentlemen is, in our opinion, a convincing proof that they have not not yielded to that influence which was the ground for removing the former Refident.

If, therefore, it fhould be thought expedient to recall Mr. Briftow and Mr. Cowper from Oude, and make an experiment of Hyder Beg's agency, as propofed in his own and the Vizier's letters, received 7th April, we muft explicitly declare, for fuch is our real opinion, that Mr. Briftow has our approbation for his exertions to difcharge the duties of his ftation; that in the event of the refidency being now withdrawn, and afterwards reftored, from a failure on the part of the Vizier's agents, we fhall think Mr. Briftow entitled to fucceed to the charge of the office, and Mr. Cowper to the fucceffion to it, as ordered by the Company; and that it will be proper that the Vizier and his minifters fhould be informed in letters, to be delivered by Mr. Briftow, of thefe feveral refolutions of the majority of the Board.

To bring the queftion at once to iffue, we think it expedient, in the prefent fituation of affairs, to agree to the recall of Mr. Briftow from Oude, with the preceding refervations, and to withdraw the refidency entirely, according to the original requeft of the Vizier and his acting minifter, provided the prefent balance due to the Company, of lacks, is paid into the Company's treafury, by bills on creditable bankers, payable, half in one month, and the remaining half in two months, from the date of Mr. Briftow's furrender of his office to the Vizier; and provided further, that the current kifts for the payment of the brigade at Caunpore, and of Sir John Cummings's detachment, are paid regularly and monthly by the minifter to the Company's paymafters in Oude.

We fhall agree to this arrangement, on the exprefs condition that the Governor-general will hold himfelf refponfible to the Company and the public for the faithful performance of thefe engagements on the part of the Vizier and his minifter, as well as for the fecurity of the internal

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internal peace of the country: to maintain which, and enforce theſe arrangements, we ſhall give him our utmoſt ſupport.

Should the Governor-general think this reſponſibility more than he ſhould undertake, and ſhould be of opinion that the conteſt between the Reſident's authority and that of the native adminiſtration in Oude has already created embarraſſments too great for the ſucceſs of his plan, he leaves no alternative, but that of giving the orders of a divided adminiſtration to the preſent Reſident to execute the duties of his office, and to conſider his inſtructions from the Governor-general, which are already in his poſſeſſion, as thoſe of the Board, with any future explanations they may think it neceſſary to give relative to ſome articles of them.

A true copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

E. W.
J. M'P.
J. S.

Governor-general. 28th Dec. 1783.

I have read, with more than common attention, the minute ſigned by the other members of the Board, and delivered to me this morning.

I ſincerely regret the loſs of time and trouble which they have beſtowed on the ſubjects of my minutes, recorded on the 16th inſtant. Nothing was further from my intention or expectation. Poſſibly my ſentiments, delivered verbally on the inſtant occaſion which produced them, were defective in preciſion; or poſſibly their direct meaning has been overlooked, in too extenſive a conſideration of the ſubject. I had no other deſign or object than to warn the Board of the dangers which might attend the Company's intereſts in the government of Owde, and thoſe of our own provinces, in their relation to it, by the irregular and unauthorized power aſſumed by Mr. Briſtow, their Reſident, and by the indeciſion of the Board on the points referred to them, both by the Nabob Vizier, and by the Reſident himſelf. I ſtated to the Board, that if it was determined to ſupport Mr. Briſtow's pretenſions, it was neceſſary to go further, and authorize him to avow the power which he had aſſumed, and to exerciſe it in the Company's name; and in that caſe I deſired that my inſtructions might be withdrawn, and others framed by the Board for his guidance, that the reſponſibility might reſt, as it ought, on them, for the ſyſtem which had the ſanction of their approbation, againſt my judgment, and myſelf exonerated from it. I conceive, that in this requiſition, I have inſiſted on nothing which is

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is contrary to reaſon, or which can be denied me on any ground of reaſon.

I have not in anywiſe diſclaimed the "obligations "which bind every member of the government to adopt "and ſupport the reſolutions of the majority of its mem- "bers."—Neither have I ſaid, that I ſhould "withdraw "the ſupport of my name and authority from thoſe mea- "ſures which the majority of the Board may think re- "quiſite for the maintainance of the Company's intereſts "in Owd." I am ſorry that theſe ſuppoſitions have been uſed in application to me, for I know not what may be the "reſolutions of the majority of the members" of the Board, which may require me to acknowledge their obligation on me; nor "the meaſures which the majority of "the Board may think requiſite for the maintenance of "the Company's intereſts in Owd."

The Board has yet formed no reſolutions—no meaſures: when they ſhall have formed them, I ſhall deem them binding on me to give them all the ſupport which my name and authority can give them; but with this reſervation, that if they ſhall be repugnant to my ſenſe of the principles of honour, juſtice, and public faith, I ſhall deem the obligation void, and appeal to that power which impoſed it for my acquittal; knowing that no power upon earth can impoſe upon me the obligation of doing what is morally wrong, and conceiving it to be a ſpecies of treaſon to apply it even in the moſt remote ſuppoſition to the high and moſt reſpectable authority to which I allude.

As to the ſeal of the Governor-general, or his ſpecial correſpondence, ſurely theſe forms will not be required for the purpoſe of announcing to the Nabob Vizier the annihilation of his authority, and the elevation of Mr. Briſtow's in its ſtead; if ſuch ſhall be the final determination of the Board, an event which I am warranted by the terms of the minute before me to ſuppoſe, there will be no need to tell the Nabob Vizer in form, what will be viſible to all the world, and what he, if he has feelings, will be the firſt to feel and know.

Having thus explained the ſentiments which I have before ſubmitted to the Board, and diſclaimed the conſtructions which have been applied to them, I muſt decline to take upon myſelf the reſponſibility which is ſtated to be required of me, in the event of their conſenting to remove Mr. Briſtow, and his aſſiſtant Mr. Cowper.

The members of the Board have furniſhed me with the moſt powerful argument both to refuſe it and to juſtify the refuſal, by the blank ſpace which they have been obliged to leave in the place where the ſum ought to be expreſſed,

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expressed, which was to specify the present balance due to the Company, and one object of my responsibility. This is not an inaccuracy, for the Board know not the present balance which is due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company. It stood, at the close of Mr. Bristow's account of the 31st October, at 51,25,184. 11. 2. To what amount it may have since accumulated, I cannot conjecture, for I have no materials; but I believe it impossible for the Nabob Vizier "to pay one half" even of this sum into the the Company's treasury, by bills on creditable bankers, payable in one month, and the remaining half in two more from the date of Mr. Bristow's surrender of his office to the Vizier; nor if the Nabob Vizier would engage to pay it, and I believed him capable of paying it, "would I hold myself responsible to the Company, "and to the public, for the faithful performance of such "an engagement," because I do not think it consistent with truth, or the regard which every man ought to pay to his own reputation, to bind himself to the performance of acts which depend solely on the ability and will of another.

It is not my desire that the other members of the Board should make any concessions to my opinions or wishes. They will act as they shall best judge, from the superior consideration of the duty which they owe to the honour, credit, and interests of the Company. I only press them to decide, and am sorry that they should hold out to me so desperate an alternative, as that which is too plainly indicated in the last paragraph of their minute;—namely, of requiring from me the pledge of a responsibility which I cannot grant, or of leaving the administration of Owd, and the Company's interests in it, to a state of total indecision, by referring Mr. Bristow for his guidance to instructions which can have no longer any force, and which are, in every article, contradictory of the system which he has adopted, and which the Board have hitherto supported, and still manifest their resolution to support.

Before I conclude, I shall desire to solicit the recollection of the Board to the great length of time which has elapsed since I first laid before them the complaints of the Nabob Vizier, all tending to shew that Mr. Bristow's acts and pretensions had thrown the government and country of Owd into a state of weakness bordering on anarchy: and Mr. Bristow himself, in his representations of the same subjects, has insisted on the same conclusion, but has ascribed it to another cause. It is evident, from Mr. Bristow's last letters, that the disorders of that state have been greatly augmented, and that the power which he has assumed, though unresisted at the Court of the Nabob

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Nabob Vizier, has produced only the ſpirit of contumacy, revolt, and embezzlement in its dependencies, independently of the public diſcredit which the Engliſh name has ſuffered by ſo long a ſubjection and oppreſſion of the ſovereign of the country in alliance with the Company.

This ſtate of affairs has now exiſted almoſt twelve months, and it is more than eight ſince the Board has been acquainted with it. The acknowledged event has demonſtrated the danger of leaving it ſo long without the attempt at leaſt to apply a remedy to it; and a ſhort continuance of the ſame indeciſion may render it incurable.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Read the following minute from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherſon, and Mr. Stables.

By Mr. Briſtow's accounts of the Lucknow treaſury received yeſterday, the balance due the beginning of this month was 53 lacks. We could not imagine nor ſuggeſt that the Governor-general ſhould be anſwerable in his private fortune for ſo large a ſum, or that his reſponſibility for the payment of it, or for the payment of the current kiſts, ſhould extend further than thoſe obligations which conſtitute reſponſibility in a decided recommendation of any meaſure, contrary to the general opinion of the majority of the Board, ſuch even as the Governor-general has expreſſed in the cloſe of his minute 21ſt October; wherein he ſays (ſpeaking of the ſecurity of bankers of *known credit and reſponſibility*, tendered by the Vizier) "*I maintain that we ought to accept this offer.*"

The Governor-general is better acquainted, from his long reſidence in this country, than we can be, with the validity of the bankers' ſecurity, thus offered by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter. We wiſh that ſecurity, or a better, if it could be obtained, to be lodged in the treaſury, before we withdraw the Reſidency; and we imagine that the declared propoſition of reſtoring the reſidency to the charge of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper, if the Vizier's miniſter fail in theſe payments, would bind them to a more punctual performance of their engagements.

It will on all accounts be neceſſary to inform the Vizier and his miniſter immediately, that the Company's troops in Oude muſt be paid their arrears, and ſupplied

with

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with provisions. We approve of the Vizier's resolution of restoring the Jaghires; but the Company's claims upon them should be first discharged (if such exist) so that they be restored without incumbrance; and the Resident should in our opinion, be directed to concert with the Vizier the best means of discharging Gopal Doss's debt, which appears to be in some train of payment; he should be further directed to release the Aumil of Rohilcund, after taking proper security for the arrears due by the said Aumil.

These points, and others relative to the situation of the Company's in Oude, we consider to demand the immediate orders of this government, independant of the complaints against Mr. Bristow, upon which we have already given our decision.

If therefore the Governor-general will not take upon himself the responsibility which we have stated in our minute of the 28th instant, and there more clearly explained, relative to the balances due to the Company in Oude, the current kists, and the expedient of withdrawing the residency, it only remains for us to call upon his support to the orders which we have pointed out in this minute, as necessary to be carried into execution, or to direct the secretary to inform Mr. Bristow of the resolution expressed in the close of our last minute; viz. that he is to consider the instructions he has already as those of the Board, and to act under them in the discharge of his duty, informing the government of the obstructions that impede him in the necessary exercise of it.

A true Copy. (Signed) E. W.
E. Hay, J. M'P.
Secretary. J. S.

31st December 1783.

The Governor General.

I can have no objection to charge myself with the responsibility, in the terms of the explanation given of it in the preceding minute; that is to say, that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his minister, to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition expressly annexed, of the recall of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper; and that I will consent to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measure.

In making this declaration, I rely upon the promise of support made to me by the members of the Board in their former minute, and I assent to the other conditions of the last.

The

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The state of the Nabob Vizier's dominions will render it necessary to leave the sums of the monthly payments, and the ultimate period, to future adjustment. I will use my utmost influence to prevail upon the Nabob to regulate them in the manner most favourable to the complete and speedy discharge of the Company's debt; and as he has promised to abide by my recommendation in this business, I have no doubt of effecting it.

(Signed) W. HASTINGS.

The Board resolve to withdraw the residency from Lucknow, and to confirm the Governor-general's acceptance of responsibility and charge of affairs there, as expressed in his last minute; viz. that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his minister, to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition annexed of the recall of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-general consenting to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measure.

Agreed that the following letter be written to Mr. Bristow.

To Mr. John Bristow, Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

Though the Board have fully approved of your conduct since your late appointment to the office of Resident at the Vizier's court, and though they have resolved in consequence to reserve to you your claim and right to the office of Resident at Owde, from the orders of the honourable Company, should the office be deemed hereafter necessary;

We have come to the determination of accepting the offers which the Nabob Vizier has made of paying his debt and current kists to the Company, on condition that the residency should be withdrawn from his court.

To fulfil this condition on our part, you will, on receipt of this letter, inform the Nabob Vizier and his minister, that you and Mr. Cowper, and the other gentlemen connected with the residency, are ready to withdraw from Lucknow, having received orders of recall.——But as the reservation made in favour of your claims to the office of Resident at Lucknow, might hereafter, if announced at the Vizier's court, be an argument with his ministers for some future objections, you will be pleased to take no notice of this circumstance, which we communicate only for your own satisfaction.

We

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We make no doubt but the Nabob Vizier and his miniſters will afford you every aid to ſettle the concerns of your reſidency, and enable you to take your departure from Lucknow in the moſt amicable manner. The Governor-general will write to them upon this ſubject; and we truſt, that on your part you will endeavour to connect, as much as poſſible, the removal of your preſent ſtation with good order in the Vizier's affairs.—You will deliver over the accounts and neceſſary papers to Mr. Wombwell, who returns to his ſtation, and you and your aſſiſtants will return to Calcutta.—You will ſignify our orders to them accordingly.

We are, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble Servants,
(Signed) Governor General and Council.

Fort William,
Secret Department,
31ſt December 1783.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Mr. Wombwell being at preſent in Calcutta;

Ordered, That he be directed to repair immediately to Lucknow, and to receive charge from Mr. Briſtow of the accounts and papers of the Reſident's office.

Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal; dated the 31ſt December 1783.

Par. 18. OUR late letters have informed you of the differences which have ſubſiſted in our opinions with reſpect to Mr. Briſtow's conduct at Lucknow.—The letters from Mr. Briſtow, as well as the complaints of the Vizier and his miniſter, ſhew clearly the ſtate of the diſpute: your troops in Oude fell ſeveral months in arrears; the claims upon the Vizier, independent of the current kiſts, amounted to upwards of 53 lacks of rupees; a famine had begun to prevail in his country, and evils of the moſt alarming nature were to be apprehended.—We refer to our proceedings for particulars.—The majority of our members ſupported Mr. Briſtow's conduct; the Governor-general condemned it. Differences at our own Board, and theſe differences known in the Vizier's dominions, could not but add to the public diſtreſs.—The repreſentations from the Vizier and his miniſter, as well as Mr. Briſtow, continued as ſtrong as ever. The Governor-

general

general called on the majority to determine what ſhould be done; his inſtructions to Mr. Briſtow were declared by the Governor-general to be cancelled by his revocation of them, and the majority of the Board were required to furniſh Mr. Briſtow with new. The majority reſolved to take the matter into their ſerious conſideration; and on the 28th inſtant delivered in a minute, which with the Governor-general's anſwer to it, the reply from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherſon, and Mr. Stables, and that from the Governor-general, accepting the propoſition of the majority, we have the honour to ſend numbers in this packet. —The reſult is, that we have reſolved to withdraw the reſidency from Lucknow, and to confirm the Governor-general's acceptance of reſponſibility and charge of affairs there, as expreſſed in his laſt minute; that is, that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter, to give the ſecurity of the bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition annexed of the recall of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-general conſenting to be ſpecially anſwerable for the propriety of the meaſure.—But when we remove the reſidency from Lucknow, we reſerve to Mr. Briſtow his claim and right to that office by your orders, ſhould ſuch office be deemed hereafter neceſſary.—We have the honour to tranſmit to you a copy of our letter to Mr. Briſtow on this occaſion.

19. We have the honour to acquaint you, that in conſequence of the directions implied in your letter to us of the 14th of February laſt, of the diſtreſſes of the diſtrict of Ferocabad, the ſtrong repreſentations on this ſubject from the Nabob Mazuffer Jung, and his diſſatisfaction, as well as that of the Vizier, with the Sezawul appointed to remit the tribute from thence to Lucknow, we ſome time ſince appointed Mr. John Willes to be Reſident on the part of this government with the Nabob Mazuffer Jung, not doubting that the Vizier will confirm our choice of this gentleman; and for this purpoſe a letter has been addreſſed to his Excellency by the Governor-general.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 8th October 1784.

READ the following letter, and encloſures, from Mr. Briſtow.

Honourable

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Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I have been honoured through your ſecretary with the copy of a letter from the honourable the Governor-general, covering ſundry encloſures, on the mode of making my receipts and diſburſements during my late reſidency at the court of Owde, and I beg leave to offer you my acknowledgements for the opportunity hereby offered me of juſtifying my conduct.

I ſhall have little difficulty in replying to a charge, which ſets out with a confeſſion that I made your orders and regulations my invariable guide. To ſave your honourable Board the trouble of a reference, I take the liberty to encloſe copies of your orders in the year 1776 on this ſubject. It will appear, upon a peruſal of them, that they were intended to remedy the inconvenience of the very plan now propoſed by Hyder Beg Khan. If the aſſay table had been found unfair to the Vizier, he might, in the firſt inſtance, or at any ſucceeding period, during eight years of its continuance, have objected to it: he, on the contrary, at the concluſion of every year, was accuſtomed to approve and ſign the accounts of my predeceſſors in office; and it will be found, upon a comparative view of our accounts, that my mode of calculating the batta faithfully correſponds with that uſed by them. In thoſe days there were no complaints; and I am juſtified in remarking, that the preſent application to you, upon a point ſo clearly eſtabliſhed by your orders, and by precedent, has every appearance of perſonal enmity on the part of Hyder Beg Khan againſt me, without any conſideration of public good.

On an inſpection of the accounts of my predeceſſors, it will be found, that on all receipts from the Aumils of Rohilcund, the batta, as fixed in the aſſay table on Barelly rupees, was charged—on all receipts from Corah, that fixed on Corah rupees; and ſo with all the different ſpecies of rupees current in the Vizier's dominions, preciſely in the ſame manner as I have done. Nor do I ſee how any other mode than the one thus practiced by my predeceſſors, and myſelf, could with propriety have been adopted. I had no authority, in contradiction to an expreſs regulation of the Board, to alter the batta, which they had fixed on each particular ſpecie with a preciſion that left me no alternative. All the payments on account of the troops ſtationed in Rohilcund were made in Barelly rupees at the eſtabliſhed rate of batta; and had I adopted, as has ſometimes been found neceſſary, the ſimple method of tranſporting the revenues from ſeveral diſtricts in Hackeries to Lucknow, I muſt have paid the whole away to the paymaſters, and others to whom I had occaſion to make

make disbursements, at the same rate. They would not have been satisfied with an opinion from me, that the exchange in the assay table was much over-rated—that the Batta in the Bazar had so fluctuated as to make them nearly in equal in value to the Sicca of the day—and that they ought therefore to receive them as such. They would, in answer to all this, have produced the established rates, and required payment accordingly, and I must have complied. By adopting, on the other hand, the method of negociating bills, the distant districts were not drained of their specie, and the Batta being still charged as provided by the assay table, in the same manner as it must have been if transported in Hackeries, neither the Vizier nor the Company sustained any loss.

If the 23d, 24th, and 25th suns were indeed equal to standard, it was more than I knew; the Sicca of the year has ever been valued, both in the assay table and in the receipts and disbursements of my immediate predecessors in office, at the same rate as that charged in my accounts; and having so decided an authority as the former for my guidance, it never occurred to me to investigate its accuracy. Hyder Beg Khan asserts to the Governor-general, that he had represented to me the Siccas of the late coinage, or 23d, 24th, and 25th suns, as having been made equal in weight and fineness to the standard, and that I ought therefore to have received them as such. I shall, in refutation of his assertion, content myself with observing, that Hyder Beg Khan has on this occasion added one more to the numberless misrepresentations with which he has already stained your records.

I certainly knew that the assay table was established, "because the several species were proportionably inferior "to the standard, or Fyzabad 16 sun Sicca;" and this conviction alone, independant of the reasons I have already urged, would have deterred me from making any alteration in the established practice, or attempting to regulate the rates of Batta by the fluctuations in the Bezar. I had well-grounded hopes that I might have been so fortunate as to realize the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Company's claims upon the Nabob; and I have no doubt, but for the obstructions thrown in my way by the intrigues of the minister, that I should have succeeded in this expectation. I should then have been enabled to send down to the presidency a considerable sum in specie; and it would have afforded me singular satisfaction to have been instrumental in removing, or at least in alleviating, the very great scarcity of ready money so generally felt in Calcutta. In that case had I regulated the Batta conformably to the fluctuations in the Bezar, instead of the assay

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assay table, and the Barelly rupees had been received from the Vizier, agreeable to the honourable the Governor-general's statement of the case, at 20 or 25 per cent. discount, in lieu of 42. 10. 9, as established by assay, supposing the calculations in the table to be accurate, the Company on sending them to the Mint would have suffered a loss of near 20 per cent. by an unauthorized deviation on my part from the Board's positive and most explicit orders.

It now only remains for me to remark on the Gourshies, the specie in which the revenues of Kissagur are paid. It happened that there were few of them in circulation at Lucknow; I was therefore, in my negotiations for realizing the amount of the Company's assignment on that district, commonly under the necessity of receiving Lucknow siccas, at the exchange of the day. These were in the market never inferior in value to the Goorshies, and were often one per cent. better. I however thought it my duty, as the Aumil had engaged in his Cabooleat to pay goorshies, to give the Vizier credit in my accounts for that specie, at a discount of only 2. 2. 6 per cent. agreeable to the assay table; whereas, as has been shewn above, I received Lucknow rupees sometimes at par, and often with a deduction of 1 per cent. on which I was obliged in my disbursements to allow a batta of 5. 9. 3 per cent.; hence it clearly appears, that on my receipts from Kissagur I sustained, upon an average, a loss of about 3 per cent. which I thought it better to submit to, in the hope that it would be made up to me upon the whole exchange, than by the expedient already mentioned of transporting the revenue in hackeries to drain that district of its specie—yet has Hyder Beg Khan, with a blind inveteracy, included even these receipts in his most fallacious estimate of the Vizier's losses.

The Governor-general in his letter observes, "it might "be supposed that the Resident would make use of his "influence to cause a great proportion of the payments "to be made in those species which were in the assay "table most depreciated in comparison of their current "and intrinsic value."—That I had, during the whole of my late residency, no influence equal the production of such effects, is fully evinced in my having been unable, with the ample powers delegated to me in my instructions, to execute any the most minute point of reform therein so forcibly enjoined me; with how much greater force does the honourable the Governor-general's reasoning apply to Hyder Beg Khan, who, with an influence so effectual, and the absolute controul he possessed over every department and every individual of the Vizier's

 govern-

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government, could with ease either have debased the coin, or enhanced the value of every specie, as might best suit his interested purpose, if not restrained by some specific regulation, such as the assay table?

I never interfered in the detail; and my general instructions for the management of the treasury enjoined a rigid adherence to the assay table, and to the forms in use by my predecessors. When, in the month of September last, I laid my accounts for the preceding year (1190 Fussulee) before the Vizier and his minister, no such objections as these now stated were urged. My accounts were found strictly conformable, both in form and matter, to former usage, and were approved accordingly. Could Hyder Beg Khan have discovered any thing chargeable with such matter of accusation as he has now thought proper to produce against them, it is not probable that in his anxiety at that period to effect the removal of your Resident, who, without power indeed to controul, yet unceasingly watched his conduct: it is not probable, I say, that so circumstanced he would have neglected so promising a prospect of accomplishing this his favourite object. He had shewn himself anxiously disposed to criminate my conduct in every instance; and it is not reasonable to suppose he would have omitted an accusation of this nature, when he had not hesitated to produce, as charges against me, complaints stamped with the most unequivocal proofs of my zeal for your service, and his determined opposition to every measure, however forcibly recommended by you, that militated in any shape against the uncontrouled power and influence he had so many years enjoyed over the Vizier's dominions.

Fort William, I have the honour, &c.
2d October 1784. (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

In addition to what has been said, I beg leave to trouble you with an observation which I did not introduce into the body of this letter, as not being immediately connected with the subject, though, as it exhibits a custom established in your own provinces similar to that in which my defence is founded, it may not improperly follow in this place.

That in the year 1773 a table, containing the different rates of batta on the various species of rupees receiveable in the course of the collections, was established by authority, in order that the government might have some fixed rule to ascertain the value of rupees, and not be subject to the daily fluctuations in the Bezar exchange; and I understand that the same rates are still in force, and that all payments of revenue at the public treasuries, when made

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made in various ſorts of rupees, are ſtill regulated by the ſtandard.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor-general and Council to Mr. John Briſtow, Reſident at Owde; dated 8*th January* 1776.

WE tranſmit you a copy of our Aſſay-maſter's reports of the exact value of the Fyzabad Sicca rupees, and the comparative proportion which the other rupees received in payment from the Nabob bear to that ſpecie.

We deſire you will adjuſt the accounts of the late Vizier, and of the preſent Nabob of Owde conformably to theſe rates.

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Report of the Comparative Values to Fyzabad Siccas, and Battas on sundry Species of Rupees, received by the Honourable Company from the Nabob of Owde, and re-coined in the Mint at Fort William.

SPECIES OF RUPEES.	Number.	Weight. Sicca Wt. A. P.	Comparative Values. Established Standard.	Better than Fyzabad Siccas. R. A. P.	Worse than Fyzabad Siccas.
Fyzabad Sicca Rupees — —	100	96 12 —	100		
Old Delhi Rupees — — —	100	97 — —	102, 902	2 14 5 per cent.	
New Do. Do. — — —	100	97 — —	102, 902	2 14 5 Do.	
Fyzabad Rupees, of 15 and 16 sun —	100	96 8 —	101, 507	1 8 1 Do.	
Old Banaras — — —	100	96 14 —	100, 342	— 5 5 Do.	
Do. Jugda — — —	100	96 12 —	101, 796	1 12 3 Do.	
Do. Pranchmail — —	100	96 14 —	101, 895	1 14 3 Do.	
Pranchmail — — —	100	96 11 —	99, 937	— —	— 1 — per cent.
Do. second sort — — —	100	96 14 —	99, 680	— —	— 5 — Do.
Banaras Fusuli — — —	100	96 8 —	98, 637	— —	1 5 9 Do.
Old Vizeiry Rupees — —	100	95 4 —	92, 350	— —	7 10 4 Do.
14 Sonne Do. — — —	100	95 8 —	91, 937	— —	8 1 — Do.
Janjee Do. — — —	100	95 7 —	79, 431	— —	20 9 1 Do.
9 Sonne Viziery Rupees — —	100	95 — —	70, 385	— —	29 9 10 Do.

Assay Office,
20th Nov. 1775.

(Signed) WM. PAXTON.

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Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council, to Mr. Briſtow; dated 13th June 1776.

In our letter of the 8th of January, we directed that the account of the difference of Batta between Fyzabad Siccas and rupees of inferior aſſortments, received in payment from the Nabob of Owd, ſhall be aſcertained by the difference in their intrinſic value, and not by the fluctuating exchange of the Bazer. We are not ſure that you have followed this rule in the accounts which you have lately tranſmitted to us. We deſire, therefore, that you will inform us on what ſtandard you form the Batta inſerted in your caſh account of the 31ſt March; and direct, that if that account be not drawn out with the Batta equivalent to the difference between the intrinſic value of the inferior ſpecies of rupees and Fyzabad Siccas, agreeable to the Aſſay Maſter's report, which has been tranſmitted you for that purpoſe, you will ſend us a rectified account, drawn out according to that rule, and that you will literally conform to this in all your future accounts. We are very deſirous of receiving your accounts for April as ſoon as poſſible, adjuſted in this manner; as the accountant, for want of them, cannot balance the books to that period, or complete an eſtimate of reſources for the preſent year.

We deſire that you will aſcertain and report to us the weight and fineneſs of a Bangalo Sicca, which we ſuppoſe to be the ſame as the Fyzabad Sicca, or the current Sicca of the province of Owde; and that you will inform us of the current rate of exchange between thoſe Siccas and Patna Sunats at Fyzabad or Lucknow. Our motive for making theſe enquiries ariſes from a repreſentation which has been lately made to us, that the rupees iſſued in payment to the army are in reality five per cent. worſe than the Patna Sunats, and that this difference is made to them in their pay, but withheld in their Batta and other allowances. We are at a loſs to know whether the 5 per cent. which is allowed to the troops in their pay, be an exceſs, or whether they are deprived of their due by its not being extended alſo to their other allowances. We therefore requeſt that you will take pains to gain all the information upon this ſubject in your power, to aſſiſt us in our deſire to do juſtice to the army and to the Company in our deciſion upon it.

A true Extract,

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

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Read another letter from Mr. Briſtow, as follows:

Gentlemen,

I have had the honour to receive your ſecretary's letters of the 1ſt July, 26th of Auguſt, and 2d inſtant.

The Governor-general having informed you, in his letter of the 14th of June laſt, that he ſhould ſoon have occaſion to addreſs you again on the ſubject of my diſburſements, and as he had ſtated no ſpecific objection to them, it was out of my power to give a ſatisfactory explanation. I ſuppoſed the ſubject of the Batta was connected with that of my diſburſements; and I truſt it will appear, upon an inſpection of the account, that my ſuppoſition was well founded. My waiting therefore for further explanations, eſpecially as they were ſo ſoon to be expected, will, I hope, be approved of by you.—It did not proceed from diſreſpect to your commands, for I could not but be exceedingly anxious to afford you ſatisfaction on points of ſuch magnitude, in the event of which both my character and fortune were apparently involved.——I relied on your juſtice not to expect a defence, while the accuſations preferred againſt me were incompleat.

I now ſee that it was a natural conſequence of the general principle of the acting miniſter's conduct, that he ſhould produce fallacious accounts againſt me, knowing, as he did, that the ſeveral repreſentations which I made to you on the ſtate of the Vizier's revenue exhibited an annual decreaſe of near a Crore of rupees, at the expiration of the fifth year of his adminiſtration.—In making theſe repreſentations I acted in ſtrict conformity to your commands, which inſtructed me to obtain "an early and "minute knowledge of the ſtate of the province of Owde "eſpecially, and the reſt of the Nabob Vizier's domi-"nions, and report the reſult of my enquiries." If in the diſcharge of my duty, and in ſelf defence, I have unavoidably expoſed circumſtances which have criminated Hyder Beg Khan, and excited his perſonal reſentment, it is to your juſtice that I muſt truſt to a due conſideration of our relative ſituations.—I now beg leave to repeat my acknowledgements for the opportunity afforded me, of vindicating my conduct by ſo candid and fair a communication of the charges.

I deny that the Vizier has any claim upon me. So far as the imperfect lights afforded me in the firſt inſtance would admit, I had prepared a full refutation of the complaint on the mode "of making my receipts and diſburſe-"ments;" and finding it correct, I have now accordingly delivered it in. The other complaint, of "my "having

"having incurred certain unauthorized disbursements," exhibits a variety of new matter, to which I could not possibly have prepared any defence. It will require some days to examine and arrange the papers, and I must solicit your permission for this delay.

Your secretary's letter of the 26th of August, covering the copy of one from the honourable the Governor-general, directs me to acquaint you "why I did not intimate to the Vizier your wish that the two Rossalahs "of cavalry, which returned with the detachment from "the west of India, might be kept up at the stations of "Cawnpore and Futty Ghur?"

I have the honour to inform you, that no wish or resolution of your honourable Board to the above effect was ever communicated to me. As I was apprehensive that your commands on this subject might by some accident have miscarried, I applied to your secretaries, Messrs. Bruere and Hay, by whom I am informed, that they had no orders to communicate any such resolution to me, and that it passed subsequent to my recall.

Calcutta, I have the honour, &c.
4th Oct. 1784. (Signed) J. BRISTOW.

To the honourable Warren Hastings, Esquire, Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I SHALL now do myself the honour of replying to the objections offered by the Nabob Vizier against certain articles of my disbursements; but as the account transmitted by me to Hyder Beg Cawn was not sufficiently explicit on the heads under which the several sums were disbursed, I have therefore given it a new form. The enclosure, No. 1, will explain the particulars. The paper, No. 2, contains my separate reply to each article of objection.

In the years 1775 and 1776, when I had the good fortune to execute all your commands with success, the charges of the residency were upon a very moderate scale; with respect to the increase of them since, I humbly conceive no responsibility can rest with me, for institutions which did not originate through my agency, or by my advice. If my disbursements were improper, it is to Hyder Beg Cawn, who now complains of them, that a principal share of the blame should be attributed. He possessed the unparticipated and entire administration of the Vizier's affairs; he was the agent through whom they were first established.

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The ſeveral inſtances in which the Nabob Vizier denies the having given his ſanction to my diſburſements, though incurred in conformity to his orders, are particularly deſerving your notice; ſuch an extraordinary conduct is hardly to be attributed to the Vizier himſelf. Indeed I obſerve in the honourable the Governor-general's letter of the 25th Auguſt, that it is Hyder Beg Cawn who prepared and delivered the expoſition. I am therefore juſtified in conſidering the objections ſtated in the name of the Nabob Vizier, not as his, but as his miniſter's.

When Hyder Beg Cawn violates the faith and honour of his ſovereign, in cauſing him to deny expenditures to which he gave his ſanction, which no motive but a deſire to oblige induced me to make, and without the expectation or deſire of emolument to myſelf, it can only be attributed to his reſentment againſt me. In the amicable and familiar intercourſe which I had the honour to preſerve with the Vizier, he was accuſtomed to apply to me for various European commodities, and often to a conſiderable amount: with ſuch applications I never heſitated to comply, without requiring an authority in writing for each expenditure, the demand for which would have been degrading to the Vizier, and diſgraceful to your repreſentative. Such were the reaſons that induced me to advance the money on account of the clothing and coral upon a verbal application.

If I erred in making the accuſtomed diſburſements of my office, it was in judgment, but not from intereſted motives. Hyder Beg Cawn was apprized of my intentions concerning the allowances of the gentlemen, and he aſſented to them.

I have produced poſitive evidence that many articles which the Vizier is now made to diſallow, were authorized by him, and that Hyder Beg Cawn was himſelf the agent through whom that authority was granted. If my diſburſements had exceeded thoſe of my predeceſſor, the miniſter's conduct might carry with it an appearance of juſtice; but the contrary is notorious, for my diſburſements were upon a reduced ſcale. All theſe circumſtances conſidered, I flatter myſelf that accuſations founded in prejudice will never be ſuffered to injure my reputation; and I truſt that my private fortune cannot be made reſponſible for charges incurred either under written or verbal authority, or according to the preſcriptive uſage of my predeceſſors in office, from which, I again beg leave to repeat, no poſſible emolument could fall to my ſhare.

I continued the official expences which I found eſtabliſhed on my arrival at Lucknow, and the gentlemen who received

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received allowances from the Resident had either appointments directly from your honourable Board, or your permission to reside at Lucknow. I knew not that the allowances paid by my predecessors for years past had been censured or reprobated by you; but whether those allowances were exorbitant, or the principle which established them improper, the responsibility of the measure rests, as I have already remarked, with Hyder Beg Cawn, through whose agency it originated; and I could not suppose a new sanction was requisite, while I acted only in conformity to the usage of my office.

When the residency was abolished, I considered it incumbent on me to close all accounts, and discharge all demands. It was certainly my duty to pay the allowances of the assistants before my authority ceased; the recovery of their claims at any future period would have rested on the pleasure of the minister, and must have been precarious. The greatest proportion of the disbursements made by me was issued from time to time, as occasions occurred, and the exigencies of the service required. It would have been impossible to have executed the duties of my office unless I had defrayed these disbursements, and it was not to be expected that I should make them from my private fortune. The sum actually paid by me at the abolition of the residency did not amount to four lacks of rupees; and it was not to be supposed that the arrangements made by the minister, in consequence of his engagements to discharge upwards of seventy lacks, the balance then due to the Company, could be affected by a disbursement comparatively so trifling.

I have now replied to the accusations preferred against me. I have, upon solid and just grounds, considered them as originating from Hyder Beg Cawn, although the name of his sovereign is brought forward to authenticate his assertions; I am therefore to regard him as the sole evidence against me; and were I to object to the credibility of the witness who thus impeaches my character and conduct, I should not deviate from the rules of self-defence, or the laws of justice: but this point I submit to your consideration; to your impartiality I appeal for my conviction or acquittal; and, though I might be able to prove the conduct of Hyder Beg Cawn devoid of truth and integrity; though I might be able to shew the motives that have influenced him to persevere in a premeditated attack upon my honour and character, by preferring and repeating the most unprovoked and unjustifiable accusations; though I have the justest grounds, in my opinion, for impeaching his administration during the eight years he has possessed the unparticipated and entire authority

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authority of the Vizier's government, I ſhall not at preſent trouble your honourable Board with the detail, in the confidence that I have ſaid enough to juſtify myſelf; and that, if you ſhould deem further arguments, proofs, or documents, neceſſary, you will not refuſe me the opportunity of ſubmitting them to your conſideration.

In order to preſent immediately to your view the character I have uniformly ſupported, and the approbation with which I have been honoured in all my conduct by your honourable Board, permit me to refer to the accompanying extracts of your proceedings.

In corroboration of what I have urged reſpecting Hyder Beg Cawn, I appeal to your records at large, and in particular to the following paragraph of my general inſtructions, dated the 23d of October 1782.

"4th. Immediately on your arrival ſound the diſpoſition of Hyder Beg Cawn; his conduct has for ſome time paſt been highly reproachable; till within theſe three months, when Mr. Johnſon aſſumed a large portion of his authority, he poſſeſſed, without controul, both the unparticipated and entire adminiſtration, with all the powers annexed to that government, the Nabob himſelf being, as he ever muſt be in the hands of ſome perſon, a mere cypher in his, and the ſanction by which he exerciſed his authority; yet he has dared both to uſe the Nabob's name, and even his ſeal affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written for him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and ſuch as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's influence and intereſt, and even to make him aſſume a very unbecoming tone of refuſal, reproach, and reſentment, in oppoſition to meaſures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own earneſt ſolicitations, ſuch as the reſumption of the Jaghires, and the ſeizure of his father's treaſure, which has been ſo long ſuffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagement exacted from me at Chunar."

I have the honour to be,
with the greateſt reſpect,
Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble Servant,
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Calcutta,
26th Nov. 1784.

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An Account of Receipts and Disbursements made by Mr. Bristow, as Resident at Lucknow, from October 1782 to January 1784, both inclusive

RECEIPTS.

To cash received, particulars, agreeable to the account transmitted to Hyder Beg Cawn, the Vizier's acting minister - - —	11,41,729	15	—
Since received in full, from the Farmer of Kyragur, through Captain Dennis - - -	8,000	—	—
	11,49,729	15	—
Balance - -	14,367	14	11
Rupees -	11,64,097	13	11
Balance - -	14,367	14	11
Since closing the above account, Mr. Thomas tendered me payment of the sum charged in the 7th reference to the Vizier's remarks - -	6,000	—	—
Balance - -	8,367	14	11

DISBURSEMENTS.

2. Allowance to the Resident's Assistants, viz.

Mr. Cowper, first assistant, and appointed in succession to the residency	1,05,425	11	3
Messrs. Swainstone, Gregory, Saml. Middleton, Neave, and Holt, 16 months, at 2,000 each per month -	1,60,000	—	—
Mr. Trevor Wheler, 5,000 rupees per month, for 16 months - -	80,000	—	—
Rupees -	3,45,425	11	3

The Resident's Official Disbursements, viz.

Mr. Reybaud, a monthly writer, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the end of March 1783, at 400 per month	2,116	2	—

Mr.

Mr. Morgan, do. to 10 Jan. 1783, at 200 rupees per month - -	526	10	8
Mr. Michael, part of Oct. 1782 to 11th November do. - -	168	10	8
Mr. Daqnin, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the 9th November 1783 - -	1,850	10	8
Mr. Sicklona, from Dec. 1782 to October 1783, inclusive - -	2,132	—	—
Mr. Strong, 13 mos. at 200 rupees per month	2,600	—	—
Mr. Jones, from 15th August 1783 to 31st Oct. 1783, at 400 rupees per month - -	1,000	—	—
Do. and writers, from November 1783 572			
Do. Dec. —— 660			
Do. Jan. 1784 900			
	2,132	—	—
Expence of monthly writers, for 16 months	12,526	2	—
Moonshy's office, from October 1782 to Jan. 1783, inclusive -	10,688	2	6
Treasury charges, do.	7,330	—	—
Dawk charges under Ismael Beg, do. - -	36,273	—	6
Holas Roy, news writer at Fyzabad, and agent with the Begums, ditto - -	1,280	—	—
Sundry disbursements made by Mr. Bristow -	50,446	6	6

The Resident was exclusively allowed above 1,200 rupees a month for his official disbursements, which sum was regularly received by Mr. Middleton: not being certain of the exact amount, I shall state it as above, at 1,200 rups. a month, for 16 months is 1,92,000

Deduct

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Deduct, already charged in part rs. 1,18,543 11 6	73,456 4 6	1,92,000 — —
Gentlemen whose Allowances were paid, exclusive of the Assistants; viz.		
Mr. Bruce, surgeon to the Vizier, and to the regiment stationed at Lucknow, 3,136 rupees per month, for 16 months	50,176 — —	
Mr. Orr, employed in the Accomptant's-office, at 2,000 rupees do. -	32,000 — —	
Mr. Taylor's salary, 1,000 rupees a month, for 16 months — 16,000; Do. Dawk bearers 16,000	32,000 — —	
		1,14,176 — —
Rupees —		6,51,601 11 3
Dawks to the detachment under the command of Lieut. Colonel Knudson		385 — —
		6,51,986 11 3
3d. Khord Mehull, through Major Gilpin - - -		10,000 — —
Feeding the Begums' Elephants -		3,206 10 8
Mint expences, through Sheek Moraudoola - - -		4,275 — —
Price of an Elephant given to Major Lumsdane, upon the capture of Bulbudder		1,400 — —
Gratuity to Tuckey Beg and Ismael Beg, at the time of Bulbudder's disturbances - - -		5,000 — —
Allowance to a Vackeel from Mahajee Scindia - - -		1,400 — —
Allowance to Mr. Thomas, surgeon, in part - - -		10,000 — —
Do. to Rajah Koshall Roy - -		8,000 — —
Expences incurred by Capt. Jaques, agreeable to the orders of the honourable the Governor General and Council -		6,161 7 —
Meer Umjud - - -		10,000 — —
Colonel Morgan, in lieu of Bazar duties - - - -		1,00,000 — —

Expence

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Expence of transporting the Begums effects	480 — —	
Do. of the Arsenal, through Colonel Martine - -	9,118 15 —	
Colonel Cuming, in part of his allowances in lieu of Bazar duties -	50,000 — —	
Expence of purchasing salt petre for the Arsenal - -	5,000 — —	
Sheik Cummall-uddine - -	1,000 — —	
		2,25,042 — 8
4. Resident's guard - -		2,09,607 — —
5. Cloathing for 5 battalions of Sepoys, and 30,000 Flints - -		45,000 — —
6. Re-building the barracks, for the regiment stationed at Lucknow by Major M'Clary	12,900 — —	
Major Johnstone, for erecting a shed for the ordnance attached to the regiment stationed at Lucknow, and for the residence of the European artillery men -	2,538 — —	
Lieut. Bie, repairing Do. in June 1783 -	589 8 —	
Lieutenant Shipton, Do. in Oct. 1783 -	534 10 —	
		16,562 2 —
7. Mr. Thomas, in part of his allowances - - -		6,000 — —
8. Mr. Mooty, for Coral, on account of the Vizier, and paid for by me agreeable to his Highness's order -		1,900 — —
9. Captain Dennis, in part of his claim for contingent expences incurred during his command in the province of Illahabad - - -		8,000 — —
Rupees -		11,64,097 13 11

Calcutta, the 26th Nov. 1784.

Errors excepted.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

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An Account, containing the Nabob Vizier's Remarks on the contingent Charges incurred by Mr. John Bristow, as Resident at the Vizier's Court.

1st. RECEIPTS (viz.)

Siccas	5,99,611	—	—					
Barrelly rupees	6,68,535	14	10½					
Corahs	1,33,576	—	—					
				14,01,722	14	10½		
Deduct Batta on the Barrelly rupees	64,016	4	3					
Do. - on the Corah do.	7,515	6	3					
				71,531	10	6		
Net amount, which the Vizier states to have been collected by Mr. Bristow, - Sicca rupees -							13,30,191	4 4½

2d. CHARGES (viz.)

To Mr. Oer - -				32,000	—	—
Mr. Abboo, writer -				2,116	—	—
Mr. Morgan, do. - -				526	10	8
Mr. Nungien, do. - -				168	6	—
Mr. Dubkin, do. - -				1,850	—	—
Mr. Suckloo, do. -				2,132	—	—
Mr. Astrorien, do. - -				2,600	—	—
Monshies expences -				10,688	2	6
Hoolass Roy, news writer at Fyzabad				1,280	—	—
Mr. Hulbriss, writer -				1,000	—	—
Writers under the above -				2,132	—	—
Expences of the officers of the treasury				7,330	—	—
Allowances to the gentlemen under Mr. Bristow -				3,45,425	11	3
Dawk charges under Iamael Bed				36,273	—	6
Mr. Taylor's allowance -	16,000	—	—			
Do. for the Dawk bearers -	16,000	—	—			
				32,000	—	—
Sundry disbursements made by Mr. Bristow - -				50,446	6	6
Allowance to Mr. Bruce, surgeon				50,176	—	—
Dawk expences to Colonel Knudson				385	—	—
				5,78,530	—	—

The

The Nabob having allowed the sum of 25,000 rupees per mensem to the Resident, to defray the expences of the gentlemen under him, together with the office and dawk charges, &c. during the period of Mr. Bristow's residence at his court, amounts to - 4,00,000 — —

The difference, being rupees 1,78,530. 4. 1, cannot be admitted.

3d. The Nabob admits in this remark sundry disbursements to the amount of 2,25,042 — 8.

4. Regarding the sum which Mr. Bristow states to have been expended in pay to the battalion, cloathing them, and building them barracks, the Nabob observes that Mr. Bristow has made an increase in the pay to the seven companies, and has also inserted the expence of cloathing, and building barracks, without acquainting him therewith; yet to cause him no trouble he (the Nabob) is willing to admit it; viz.

Pay to the battalion	1,91,801	—	—
Building barracks	9,263	—	—
Cloathing	8,536	—	—
	2,09,607	—	—

5th. Regarding the expence of purchasing cloathing and flints, the Nabob observes it was incurred without his orders; but since Mr. Bristow sent them, he is willing to allow of this article being 45,000 — —

6th. Regarding the expence of building new barracks, and repairing others, the Nabob observes, that it was incurred without his orders or knowledge, and is therefore inadmissable; viz.

Building of new barracks	11,458	6	—
By Major Johnson	2,538	8	—
Repairing do. through Mr. Petty	589	8	—
Do. — Do.	534	—	—
	15,121	—	—

7th. Mr. Bristow inserts the sum of 16,000 rupees, as paid to Mr. Thomas, but Mr. Thomas acknowledges the receipt only of 10,000 rupees — difference 6,000 — —

8th. As

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8th. As to the purchasing * Pearls, the Nabob remarks that he does not know by what authority Mr. Bristow has inserted the expence, being -	1,900	—	—
9th. Excess in the allowances to the gentlemen under Mr. Bristow, and other charges above mentioned -	1,78,530	4	1
10th. Batta, as stated by Mr. Bristow	2,46,465	3	7
Allowed by the Vizier -	71,531	10	6
Difference -	1,74,933	9	1
11th. Difference in the collections of Khiragur, between Mr. Bristow's and the Nabob's accounts, Mr. Bristow having omitted to bring to account -	13,527	12	3½
12th. Balance unaccounted for in the account from Mr. Bristow -	59,087	15	3
Deficiency in balance, said to be left in Munsarum's hands - 51,441 10 —			
Accounted for through Colonel Cummings - 50,000 — —			
Deficiency -	1,441	10	—
Rupees -	60,529	9	3
13th. Total amount of the sum claimed by the Vizier — Sicca rupees	4,50,542	2	8½

Mr. BRISTOW in Reply.

1st. This sum exceeds what I acknowledged to have received, the difference is caused by the mode of calculating my receipts and disbursements, which conformed to the orders of the honourable the Governor-general and Council, and the practice of my predecessors. I have already explained this subject in my address of the 2d Oct. to which I beg leave to refer.

2d. I entreat your permission to place these sums in the order they are stated in the accompanying account (No. 1) as the several heads under which they were disbursed will then appear in a clearer point of view, (viz.)

Allowance to the Resident's Assistants.

Mr. Cowper, first assistant, and appointed in succession to the residency -	1,05,425	11	3

* *Should be Coral.*

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Messrs. Swainton, Gregory, Samuel Middleton, Neave, and Holt, 16 months, at 2,000 rupees each per month - -	1,60,000	—	—
Mr. Trevor Wheler, at 5,000 rupees per month for 16 months - -	80,000	—	—
	3,45,425	11	3

Resident's Official Disbursements.

Mr. Reyband, a monthly writer, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the end of March 1783, at 400 per month		2,116	2	—
Mr. Morgan, do. to 10 Jan. 1783, at 200 rupees per month - -		526	10	8
Mr. Michael, part of Oct. 1782 to the end of November do. - -		168	10	8
Mr. D'Acquin, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the 9th November 1783 -		1,850	10	8
Mr. Sicklona, from Dec. 1782 to October 1783, inclusive - -		2,132	—	—
Mr. Strong, 13 mos. at 200 rupees per month		2,600	—	—
Mr. Jones, from 15th August 1783 to 31st Oct. 1783, at 400 rupees per month - -		1,000	—	—
Do. and writers, from November 1783	572			
Do. Dec. ——	660			
Do. Jan. 1784	900			
		2,132	—	—
Expence of monthly writers, for 16 months		12,526	2	—
Moonshy's office, from 1782 to January 1783, inclusive - -		10,688	2	6
Treasury charges, do.		7,330	—	—
Dawk charges under Ismael Beg, - -		36,273	—	6
Holas Roy, news writer at Fyzabad, and agent with the Begums		1,280	—	—

Sundry

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Sundry disbursements made by Mr. Bristow -		50,446 6 6	
			1,18,543 11 6
The Resident was exclusively allowed above 12,000 rups. a month for his official disbursements, which sum was regularly received by Mr. Middleton: not being certain of the exact amount, I shall state it as above, at 12,000 rups. a month, for 16 months is	1,92,000		
Deduct, already charged in part as above	1,18,543 11 6		
		73,456 4 6	
			1,92,000 — —

Gentlemen whose Allowances were paid, exclusive of the Assistants.

Mr. Bruce, surgeon to the Vizier, and to the regiment stationed at Lucknow, 3,136 rupees per month, for 16 months		50,176 — —	
Mr. Orr, employed in the Accomptant's-office, at 2,000 rupees do. -		32,000 — —	
Mr. S. Taylor's salary, 1,000 rupees a month, for 16 months —	16,000		
Do. Dawk bearers	16,000		
		32,000 — —	
			1,14,176 — —
Total Rupees —			6,51,601 11 3
Dawk to the detachment under the command of Lieut. Colonel Knudson			385 — —
Rupees			6,51,986 11 3

The Vizier in his remarks observes, that on account the above disbursements, amounting to 6,51,986. 11. 3. the Resident was granted, for every particular therein specified, an allowance of twenty-five thousand rupees a month, all together making 4,00,000 rupees.—I assert, that disbursements similar to mine were authorized in the time of my predecessor, and that no propo tion was ever

 made

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made to me, either by the Vizier or his minister, that I should accept the sum of 25,000 rupees per month, in full for all such my disbursements; if it had been made to me I could not have agreed to it, nor can it common sense be believed, that either my predecessor or I should have accepted a sum so inadequate to the purpose.

Lieutenant Colonel Knudson commanded a detachment of two regiments of Sepoys stationed for about three months at Iohomgurabad, in order to repress the incursions of the Sikes.

The sum of 385 rupees was an expenditure for a Dawk laid between that station and Futty Ghur, and was certainly a very moderate charge for an object so evidently necessary as that of preserving a communication between the two armies.

The sum of 3,136 rupees has for years past been an established allowance to the surgeons at Lucknow.—The late Mr. Walters, Dr. Balfour, and Mr. Murchison received it, for this reason I gave it to Mr. Bruce; Mr. Taylor discharged the duties of postmaster and superintendent of the Dawk bearers, and had your permission to reside at Lucknow; neither Mr. Taylor nor Mr. Bruce had, as I understood, any allowances from the Company, and consequently were entitled to them from the Nabob.

The particulars of part only of my official disbursements, amounting to rupees 1,92,000, are specified; the remainder relates to the expence of public servants, secret services, agents of all denominations, Durbar charges, &c.

The magnitude of my office necessarily obliged me to incur very heavy expences; and I trust the amount will appear moderate, on a comparison with the contingencies drawn by your civil and military servants employed in the political line of your service. In all events, Mr. Middleton regularly received the sum of twelve thousand rupees a month on this account. It was an authorized and established charge.

I submit to your judgment if the allowances granted to Mr. Cowper, or to the assistants in general, was exorbitant, compared with those enjoyed by gentlemen of the same rank in your own provinces, or with other establishments in Owd *.

During

* *The annual income of Mr. Cowper, appointed in succession to the residency, including what he was allowed by the Company, amounted to rupees - -* 83,888 — —

The annual income of Mr. Trevor Wheler, fourth in rank upon the list of Assistants at

Lucknow,

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During the whole of my reſidency I was greatly embarraſſed in ſettling the expences of the eſtabliſhment. The miniſter repeatedly evaded giving me a clear explanation of them, which compelled me to make enquiry, and aſcertain from individuals the allowances they had been accuſtomed to receive in the time of my predeceſſor. Having done ſo, I formed my judgment of each gentleman's pretenſions by that ſtandard; I explained the particulars to Hyder Beg Cawn, who aſſented to the ſum I propoſed, both for the aſſiſtants and others, and himſelf recommended part of the payments which I made.—That Hyder Beg Cawn ſhould omit to ſtate this fact in the Vizier's Remarks is conſiſtent with his general management, in reſpect to me, of creating the cauſe, that he may at a future period ſeize the opportunity of fabricating a complaint.

His objection to the diſburſements of the reſidency is unprecedented; his doing it now is no proof of his zeal for the public, but a deliberate act of malice, as my diſburſements were conſiderably leſs than at any preceding period; and he muſt be conſcious, that in making this aſſertion I only ſpeak the truth.

3d. There are errors in the additions, and in ſome of the ſums, which I have corrected in the accompanying account, No. 1.

4th. It would indeed be exceedingly painful to me to acknowledge my gratitude of the indulgence which is here profeſſed: I made this charge as being authorized and proper, and I ſolicit that it may be paſſed on no other ground than matter of right. For the proof I beg leave to refer to the following correſpondence between Captain M'Leod and me.

To Captain Norman M'Leod.

Sir,

I have the honour to incloſe you a copy of the Nabob Vizier's obſervations on the diſburſements which I made to the corps under your command, during the period I laſt held the ſtation of Reſident at his Highneſs's court.

I am to requeſt the favour that you will furniſh me with an atteſted copy of the order I delivered to you from the

Lucknow, excluſive of the advantages he may have derived from a ſhare in Mr. Scott's contract for cloths - -	63,600 — —
Mr. Thomas, a ſurgeon upon the Lucknow eſtabliſhment - -	1,12,63 — —
Rupees -	2,60,120 — —

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the Vizier, directing you to provide the cloathing of your battalion; and alfo that you will favour me with a relation of fuch circumftances as may fall within your recollection relative to the tranfactions on which the Vizier's obfervations are formed.

Calcutta, the 10th Oct. 1784.

I am, Sir,
Your moft obedient fervant,
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Captain M'Leod to Mr. Briftow, in Reply.

Sir,

I am favoured with your letter of the 10th inftant, wherein you enclofe me a copy of the Vizier's obfervations on the difburfements which you made to the corps under my command, during the period you laft held the ftation of Refident at his Highnefs's court. You further defire me to furnifh you with an attefted copy of the order you delivered to me from the Vizier, for providing the cloathing of my battalion; and to ftate fuch circumftances as fall within my recollection, relative to the tranfactions on which the Vizier's obfervations are formed.

In reply I beg leave to fend you the original letter from the Vizier to me, containing an order for making up the very cloathing for my battalion, which is objected to in thofe obfervations as unathorized by his Excellency. A common attention to facts will evince that all the other particulars excepted to, as grounds of accufation againft you, had the fulleft fanction which the authority of the Vizier could give them. Upon my arrival at Lucknow, I reprefented to you the diforderly and undifciplined ftate of the corps I was ordered to command. I told you that one of the feven companies had been difbanded during the rebellion of Chyte Sing, and that it was never formed again; I requefted you to reprefent the expediency of raifing a company to fupply its place, to his Highnefs; expreffing at the fame time my defire to have my allowances fixed, and the eftablifhment of the corps determined. To this you replied, that nothing could be done till fuch time as the abftract was tranflated into Perfian, for the perufal of the Nabob, without whofe approbation, you faid, nothing could be fettled. Several days elapfed before the Minifter, Hoffeign Beza Cawn, brought you the Perfian of the abftract from his Highnefs, declaring his fulleft approbation of it. Regarding the moderation or extravagance of it, I fhall be very happy however foon it be compared with the moft moderate eftablifhment of the many corps which have been commanded by Britifh officers in the fervice of the Vizier. The price charged for the cloathing was agreeable to a fixed rate, and did not

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not depend on me. Comparing it with the account sent by Mr. Delisle, I find I got 2,000 rupees by it, a sum little exceeding the reckonings in the Company's service. If there was any difference between it and other cloathing made up for the Vizier, it was in the superior quality, not in the price of it.

As there was no place for cantoning the men, I found, upon my arrival, that they were dispersed all over the city of Lucknow, every man residing where he pleased. I represented to you the impossibility of collecting the men upon any emergency, and without some place to canton in, the service of the battalion could never be depended on; you thereon applied to his Highness, for his consent to build a magazine and cantonments; and having obtained it, the Minister Hussim Reza Cawn rode with you and me from Gillalabad, and marked out the ground for them.

The price charged for the materials and workmen was agreeable to the prices published in orders, and allowed for all buildings in the Company's service. To shew that there has been no increase to the pay of the seven companies made by you, it is a fact which a comparison of my abstract with those which were made out in the time of your predecessor will at once prove, the difference consisted in the mode of making out the monthly charges for the corps. My abstracts were made out for the whole corps, under one head, upon one sheet of paper; it comprehended all charges whatever, my own pay, &c.; the pay, batta, &c. to the officers, Sepoys, artificers; besides the charges of feeding the gun and carriage bullocks; all amounting to 12,000 Fyzabad rupees a month. During the time of your predecessor in office at Lucknow, it was different, the charge was not made under one head, nor drawn in one abstract; there were several separate charges monthly. The abstract for the pay of the officers and Sepoys amounted to 9,000 rupees per month; besides which there was a charge of paymaster's allowance, and a third monthly bill for feeding the draft and carriage cattle. Taking any of those separately, and comparing it with my abstract for the whole, there appears a difference, but I can safely say, that it was not a difference of expence to the Vizier; and that laying the advantage of a regular descriptive out of the question, that the corps has at no time cost him less than during the time of your last holding the office of Resident at Lucknow. All the expences incurred for my command bear my signature, and the sooner they are referred to a candid investigation the better.

Calcutta, I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.
14th Oct. 1784. (Signed) N. M'LEOD.
John Bristow, Esq.

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Translation of an Order from the Nabob Vizier to Captain M'Leod; dated the 25th of Jemmady ul Ewal 1197.

"The cloathing of the battalion under your command "being old and worn out, I therefore direct you to pur-"chase cloth, and make new cloathing, which you will "deliver to the battalion, and which shall hereafter be "passed in account agreeable to your bill for the same."

I am to observe, in corroboration of what Captain M'Leod has advanced concerning the Nabob's Remarks on the encrease of pay to the battalion, that the whole was authorized—I furnished Hyder Beg Cawn with the abstract; it lay in his hands for some days; he approved, and returned it, signed by the prime minister, Hussian Reza Cawn, telling me at the same time that it was the form of office for papers of this nature to be passed by that minister.

5th. I could have no inducement to make a purchase of this nature, but at the Vizier's request; it was no emolument to me, I did not myself furnish the cloathing; and the following letter will afford another instance of the fallibity of his Highness's memory.

From Raja Koshall Roy to Mr. Bristow; received 3d October 1784.

I am honoured with your commands, directing me to state the circumstances that passed relative to the Vizier's orders for the purchase of articles: one day that his Highness was at the breakfast table, after having drank tea, he informed you that he required cloathing for five battalions of Sepoys, 30,000 flints, some of the best sort of fowling pieces, and some curious pistols; he desired that you would send for and purchase them on his account, and whatever might be the cost he would defray it. Two or three days after I attended at the presence, and asked what orders his Highness had to give concerning the price he was pleased to allow on the articles he had commissioned, and what the particulars were to be.

The Nabob replied, that "he had given the order the "day before yesterday; that he would allow whatever "might be the cost of the articles (which are hereunder "specified) and it would be agreed to and approved." Thus was his Highness twice and thrice pleased to express himself. The particulars will appear from the following list:

Cloathing for 5 battalions, agreeable to the English establishment.

Flints

Flints	— —	30,000
Fowling pieces of the firſt ſort.		
Piſtols	— — —	5

6th. There are errors in the Nabob's ſtatement of this account, which I have corrected in mine, viz.

Rebuilding the barracks for the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, by Major Maclary	12,900	—	—
Major Johnſtone, for erecting a ſhed for the ordnance attached to the regiment at Lucknow, and for the reſidence of the European artillery men	2,538	—	—
Lieut. Bie preparing ditto in June 1783	589	8	—
Lieut. Shipton — ditto in Oct. ditto	534	10	—
	16,562	2	—

The following tranſlation of the correſpondence which paſſed on the building of the barracks by Major M'Lary will explain the Nabob's objection to this article as ill founded.

From Mr. Briſtow to Hyder Beg Cawn, 2d Ramzoom, 1197.

" I verbally explained to you Major Maclary's repre-" ſentation concerning repairs to the cantonments of the " regiments ſtationed at Lucknow, without which they " muſt fall to the ground, and the ammunition will be " damaged by the leaking of the buildings. An eſtimate " of the expence, amounting to twelve thouſand nine " hundred rupees, which I received from the Major was " before this ſent to you through Sheik Shuffy Oolah; " you have approved of it, and therefore I have prepared " a draft of an order to be addreſſed by his Highneſs to " Major Maclary, which Sheik Shuffy Oolah will de-" liver to you, and, if it be proper, you will cauſe it to " be written by his Highneſs, and ſent to me."

To this letter Hyder Beg Cawn himſelf returned a verval anſwer through the bearer of it, Sheik Shuffy Oolah, at the ſame time he ſent an order from the Vizier, of which the following is a tranſlation.

From the Nabob Vizier to Major M'Lary, 3d Rumzan 1197.

" An eſtimate of the expence of building the canton-" ments of the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, amount-" ing to 12,900 rupees has been preſented to me; you " will pleaſe to advance the money, and build the can-" tonments. This order ſhall be your warrant for the

" payment

"payment of the amount by my government at a future "period."

At the time Major Johnstone built the artillery shed, Hyder Beg Cawn gave his verbal assent to the charge. I am not certain whether I apprized him of the expence incurred in repairs; but I submit it to your honourable Board, whether such a building was not necessary, and repairs unavoidable.

7th. Mr. Thomas does not acknowledge the receipt of this sum, because he wishes to transfer it in part payment of a demand he has made upon me for rupees 9,660, on account of medical attendance, medicines, &c. during my residence at Lucknow: I refused his demand, and he has threatened me with an action at law. I shall hereafter take the liberty of applying to your honourable Board for redress against Mr. Thomas.

8th. One day in November 1782, the Nabob Vizier honoured me with his Company to breakfast at Lieutenant Colonel Martin's: Mr. Mooty, a follower of the camp at Futty Ghur, came and offered some coral to his Highness for sale, which he bought, and referred to me for payment; Mr. Mooty received the money through Lieutnant Colonel Martin, who was present when the Vizier gave me his orders.

9th. I have already answered this Remark. Vide 2d Reply.

10th. I have already answered this charge, in my address of the 2d October.

11th. There must be an error in the sum claimed by the Vizier, as Captain Dennis only received 8,000 rupees; I was obliged to let that officer retain this sum in his hands, on account of certain contingent expences which he incurred during his command in the province of Allahabad, and which are now before the committee of accounts.

12th. An inspection of the account, No. 1, will explain that I have accounted for all the monies which I have received.

13th. The sum of rupees 14,367,14. 11, will appear due to me agreeable to the accompanying account, No. 1.

Calcutta,
26th November 1784. (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor General and Council to Mr. John Bristow; dated the 6th of June 1775.

We have received your letter, inclosing copies of the treaty proposed to be entered into by the Company with the Nabob Asulph ul Dowlah, and of the separate engagements

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gagements executed by him. We entirely approve of every article in the treaty, and the negociation of it. We have ordered two fair copies to be immediately engroſſed in form, which we ſhall tranſmit to you as ſoon as poſſible, with our ſignature, and the ſeal of the Company affixed to each, that you may obtain the ſeal and ſignature of the Nabob in like manner, and return one of them to us. In the mean time however you will directly make known to the Nabob our acceptance of this treaty.

In ratifying a treaty ſo highly honourable and advantageous to the Company, as that which you have had the honour of concluding with the Nabob, we cannot, in juſtice to your diſtinguiſhed zeal and aſſiduity in the courſe of this important negociation, omit expreſſing to you the higheſt approbation of your conduct, and returning you our thanks for the ſervice you have rendered to the Company. The terms you have obtained are ſo complete and ſatisfactory that they equal our warmeſt expectations, and you may be aſſured we ſhall not fail to repreſent the whole of your conduct, ſince your appointment, to the honourable Court of Directors in that favourable light in which it appears to us, and in which we do not doubt it will be received by the Company.

As a further mark of our approbation, we have agreed to order a bond to be made out in your favour for one lack of rupees, bearing intereſt at 5 per cent. from the 21ſt of May, being the date of the ſignature of the treaty, ſubject however to the final approval of the honourable the Court of Directors, to whom we ſhall recommend it as a juſt reward of your ſervices.

Vide the proceedings of the honourable the Governor-general and Council upon the recall of Mr. John Briſtow from the Court of Oude, on the 2d of December 1776.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor General to Edward Wheler and John Macpherſon, Eſquires; dated upon the Ganges, near Sookſagore, the 22d of September 1782.

A few days before my preſent indiſpoſition commenced, I informed you that I was ſorry to find, that the Reſident at the Vizier's court had evidently failed in his duty to this government, in not having carried into execution the conditions and ſpirit of the late treaty with the Vizier. I had further the mortification to be obliged to inform you, that neither the Reſident, nor the deputy in his abſence, had communicated to me the confuſions which had ariſen in the Vizier's dominions from a neglect or violation of the treaty. The letters which I wrote in conſequence

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consequence of such mismanagements to the Resident, and to the acting minister of the Vizier, were laid before you, and approved.

Upon the same occasion I observed to you, that the obstacle which opposed itself to the nomination of Mr. Bristow to the residentship at Oude no longer existed. It was removed by my having vindicated what must ever be esteemed one of the necessary privileges of this government. I had the pleasure of finding, upon the most impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Bristow, during his former residence at the court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive. I accordingly wished to recommend him to succeed the present Resident, provided the Vizier had no reasonable objections to his appointment.

I have now great satisfaction in informing you, that my letter to the acting minister to the Vizier has had the happiest effect in realizing the heavy balances due to the Company from Oude; and it is said, that the present Resident and his deputy are brought to a proper sense of their duty to the Company.

But as, in every act of my administration of the affairs of the Company, I never had an object in view but their permanent interest, as far as my judgment could direct me, and as prejudice in favour of those in whom I have confided, or against those who opposed me, vanish in my mind when the good of the service requires it, I now wish you to recall Mr. Middleton from the court of the Vizier, and to appoint Mr. Bristow in his room.

My weak state of health obliges me to dictate this letter from my bed; yet I cannot but add, that your instructions to Mr. Bristow should be strong and positive upon three points; first, That he should always shew every possible respect to the Vizier and his family; secondly, that he should take the most effectual steps for securing all that may remain unpaid of the Company's balances; thirdly, that the security and internal peace of the Vizier's dominion, and the happiness of the people, should be continually in his view; and that he should communicate fully and freely with this government upon those subjects.

The state of my health requires my proceeding further up the river; and I shall communicate to Mr. Bristow, with your approbation, any more particular instructions that may occur to me, and that I may be able to send him.

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Copy of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor-general and Council to Mr. John Bristow, dated the 31st December 1783.

Though the Board have fully approved of your conduct since your appointment to the office of Resident at the Vizier's court, and though they have resolved in consequence to reserve to you your claim and right to the office of Resident at Oude, from the orders of the honourable Company, should the office be deemed hereafter necessary, we have come to the determination of accepting the offers which the Nabob Vizier has made of paying his debt and current kists to the Company, on condition that the residency should be withdrawn from his court.

To fulfil this condition on our part, you will on receipt of this letter inform the Nabob Vizier and his minister, that you and Mr. Cowper, and the other gentlemen connected with the residency, are ready to withdraw from Lucknow, having received orders of recall; but as the reservation made in favour of your claims to the office of Resident at Lucknow might hereafter, if announced at the Vizier's court, be an argument with his ministers for some future objections, you will be pleased to take no notice of this circumstance, which we communicate only for your own satisfaction.

We make no doubt the Nabob Vizier and his ministers will afford you every aid to settle the concerns of your residency, and enable you to take your departure from Lucknow in the most amicable manner. The Governor-general will write to them upon this subject; and, we trust, that on your part you will endeavour to connect, as much as possible, the removal of your present station with good order to the Vizier's affairs. You will deliver over the accounts and necessary papers to Mr. Wombwell, who returns to his station, and you and your assistants withdraw to Calcutta. You will signify our orders to them accordingly.

True Extracts.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Observations on Mr. Bristow's Defence.

Governor General. the 7th December 1784.

IT is with concern I am forced to take up the subject of the charges against Mr. Bristow at the moment of the dispatch of the Surprize, and at a juncture when so many important

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important affairs, affecting the immediate interests of this government, press on my attention, and scarce leave me time to read the letters and papers which he has sent us in defence and justification of his conduct, much less to enter into a discussion of the several arguments he has used, in so minute and precise a manner as the justice which I think due from us to the Nabob Vizier would require. I must confine myself to a summary examination of the principles on which Mr. Bristow justifies his withholding the sums which the Nabob Vizier has claimed from him; these are as follow, viz.

1st. The Practice of his Predecessors.
2dly. The Orders of the Board.
3dly. The Moderation of the Expences and Allowances he has charged.
4thly. The Sanction of the Nabob Vizier, expressed in Writing.
5thly. The verbal Sanction of the Nabob Vizier.

' These principles do not all apply to every one of the charges, they are used differently in justification of different articles; I shall therefore examine them separately, and touch on the principal articles justified under each.

1st. The Practice of his Predecessors.

It is on this ground that Mr. Bristow chiefly justifies the heavy expences with which he has charged the Vizier, as well as the method which he has used in calculating the Batta on the sums received in payment of the subsidy. We have no proof before us of the conduct which is here imputed to Mr. Bristow's predecessors, and he does not pretend to say that it had the sanction of his employers in any instance, except in that of the Batta, which I shall have occasion to discuss hereafter. Without passing any opinion therefore in this place on the general conduct of the former Residents at the court of the Vizier, I shall only observe that Mr. Bristow's immediate predecessor was removed from his office for supposed instances of misconduct, which, however blameable, was certainly so in a less degree than those which Mr. Bristow has now attempted to justify; with such an example before him, Mr. Bristow should have been cautious not to carry the imitation of his predecessor so far as even to exceed those parts of his conduct for which he fell a sacrifice, and which opened the way to Mr. Bristow's own appointment. Admitting the practice imputed in this defence to former Residents to be justly stated, it will rest with the Board to determine how far such precedents, if unauthorized by this government, were a sufficient sanction for adopting a similar practice.

2dly.

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2dly. The Orders of the Board.

Mr. Briftow has endeavoured to juftify on this ground, as well as on the example of his predeceffors, the whole of the lofs fuftained by the Nabob Vizier during his refidency, under the article of Batta; for a more particular explanation of this fubject I muft beg leave to refer the Board to my addrefs of the 14th June.

I muft here obferve, that whatever may have been the object of this government in iffuing the orders of the 8th of January and 13th of June 1776, to which Mr. Briftow has alluded, it never could have been intended that they fhould furnifh a fource of private advantage to the Refident, nor can they, by any poffible conftruction, be admitted as a fanction for the practice which is afferted on the one hand and not denied on the other, of charging to the account of the Vizier, where the fubfidy was actually paid in Lucknow rupees, the difference of Batta which would have been gained if the payment had been made in the fpecies of Barelly or Korah, taken at the rate of the affay table, and afterwards exchanged at the fluctuating Batta of the Bazar for the Lucknow rupees, or thofe which were ufed in the difburfements.

I know of no fatisfactory exculpation which Mr. Briftow could have ufed, unlefs he could have afferted that the fame fpecies which are inferted in his accounts, whether Barelly, Korah, or Lucknow rupees, were actually received in payment of the fubfidy, and that the fame identical fpecies were afterwards iffued to the troops and others, at the fame rate of Batta as that which he charged to the Nabob Vizier; a few inftances might, I believe, have been quoted, in which this was actually done, but fuch were certainly rare, and this indeed may be plainly inferred from Mr. Briftow's own words;—I fhall beg leave to quote the following paragraph from his letter of the 2d of October: "All the payments on account of "the troops ftationed in Rohilkund were made in Barelly "rupees, at the eftablifhed rate of Batta; and had I "adopted, as has fometimes been found neceffary, the "fimple method of tranfporting the revenues from the "feveral diftricts on Hackeries to Lucknow, I muft have "paid the whole away to the paymafters and others to "whom I had occafion to make difburfements, at the "fame rate. They would not have been fatisfied with "an opinion from me, that the exchange in the affay "table was much over-rated—that the Batta in the Ba-"zar had fo fluctuated as to make them nearly equal in "value to the Sicca of the day, and that they ought "therefore to receive them as fuch; they would, in an-"fwer to all this, have produced the eftablifhed rates, "and

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"and required payment accordingly, and I muſt have "complied, by adopting, on the other hand, the method "of negociating bills; the diſtant diſtricts were not "drained of their ſpecie, and the Batta being ſtill charged "as provided for by the aſſay table, in the ſame manner "as it muſt have been if tranſported on Hackeries, "neither the Vizier nor the Company ſuſtained any loſs." The inference which I draw from this paragraph is, that where the ſubſidy was paid from the revenues of Barelly, &c. the Batta was charged on thoſe ſpecies of rupees, according to the rate admitted in the aſſay table; but as the amount was remitted in bills of exchange on Lucknow, the money which was actually received into the Reſident's treaſury was in Lucknow rupees. The effect of ſuch an operation is clearly pointed out in my addreſs of the 14th June. The ſubject of the Batta, which is the only article that Mr. Briſtow endeavours to juſtify on the grounds of orders from this government, is now, in my opinion, ſufficiently clear to enable the Board to determine, whether the orders alluded to ſhould be admitted as a ſufficient juſtification of Mr. Briſtow, or whether any, or what reparation, is due to the Nabob Vizier. But if the Board ſhould think that further elucidation is ſtill wanted, we muſt neceſſarily make a new reference to Lucknow, from whence I doubt not but the moſt ample proofs may be procured of the nature of each receipt and payment. For my own part, I ſhould regret ſuch a reference, as every procraſtination tends to defeat the purpoſe of this inquiry. If the Nabob Vizier is entitled to redreſs, it has already been too long deferred, and the juſtice of our government muſt lay under an imputation till it is granted.

3dly. The Moderation of the Expences and Allowances he has charged.

This is one of the grounds on which Mr. Briſtow has juſtified the principal articles charged in his account with the Nabob Vizier: the amount which he inſerted in his firſt account for the expences of the Reſident's office, and allowances to the gentlemen at Lucknow, was 5,78,530 rupees; the amount which the Nabob Vizier was willing to admit, was four lacks, being at the rate of 25,000 rupees per month, for the period of Mr. Briſtow's reſidency. When Mr. Briſtow is called upon to account for the difference, being 1,78,530 rupees, inſtead of ſhewing that ſenſe which I ſhould have expected of his former charges, and confining himſelf to circumſtances neceſſary for their vindication, he ſeems to have repented of them as being too moderate, and gives in a new account to the Board,

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Board, in which, chiefly by an augmentation of his own exclusive official disbursements, from 1,18,543. 11. 3 to 1,92,000, he raises the whole charge of the Resident's official disbursements, and of the gentlemen at Lucknow, to 6,51,601. 11. 3.

In the Remarks which he has subjoined to this part of the account he says, he trusts that the amount of his official disbursements will appear moderate, in comparison with the contingencies drawn by the civil and military servants employed in the political line of the service; that Mr. Middleton regularly received the sum of 12,000 rupees per month on this account, and that it was an authorized and established charge; and he submits to the judgment of the Board, if the allowances granted to Mr. Cowper, or to the assistants in general, were exorbitant, compared with those enjoyed by gentlemen of the same rank in our own provinces, or with other establishments in Owde. These are clear propositions for the Board to decide on: for my own part, when the Vizier's minister first informed me, that the amount which his master had authorized, and was willing to admit for the charges of the residency, and the allowances of the gentlemen at Lucknow, was 25,000 rupees per month, I own I was startled at the magnitude of the sum, and was some days hesitating in my mind, whether I could, with propriety, admit of it; but Mr. Bristow declares, that no proposition was ever made to him, either by the Vizier or his minister, of accepting that sum in full of all such disbursements; that if it had been made, he could not have agreed to it; and that it cannot, in common sense, be believed that either his predecessors or himself should have accepted a sum so inadequate to the purpose.

4thly. The Sanction of the Vizier, as expressed in Writing.

To such disbursements as Mr. Bristow can justify under this sanction, I shall make no objection: they have indeed been already admitted by the Vizier himself, except only the sum of 12,900 rupees, stated to have been paid to Major M'Clary. That the official disbursements, and the allowances of the gentlemen at Lucknow, amounting, by Mr. Bristow's last account, to 6,51,601. 11. 3 rupees, do not come under the description of sums for which he has received the written sanction of the Nabob Vizier, is clearly shewn in the following extract from the remarks which Mr. Bristow has annexed to that part of his account; viz. "during the whole of my residency "I was greatly embarrassed in settling the expences of "the establishment. The minister repeatedly evaded

 "giving

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"giving me a clear explanation of them, which compel-
"led me to make enquiry, and aſcertain from indivi-
"duals, the allowances they had been accuſtomed to
"receive in the time of my predeceſſor. Having done
"ſo, I formed my judgment of each gentleman's preten-
"ſions by that ſtandard. I explained the particulars to
"Hyder Beg Cawn, who aſſented to the ſum I propoſed,
"both for the aſſiſtants and others, and he himſelf re-
"commended part of the payments which I made."——
All theſe charges, therefore, come under the next head.

5thly. The verbal Sanction of the Nabob Vizier.

Mr. Briſtow obſerves on this ſubject, in a letter which has accompanied his remarks, "that in the amicable and "familiar intercourſe which he had the honour to pre- "ſerve with the Vizier, he was accuſtomed to apply to "him for various European commodities, and often to a "conſiderable amount; and that with ſuch applications "he never heſitated to comply, without requiring an "authority in writing for each expenditure, the demand "for which would have been degrading to the Vizier, "and diſgraceful to the repreſentative of this govern- "ment." Were I convinced that ſuch an amicable intercourſe had always exiſted, and that Mr. Briſtow had uniformly ſhewn, on other occaſions, an equal degree of delicacy towards the Nabob Vizier, I might have been induced to have allowed this argument great weight, and have contented myſelf, on the Vizier's diſavowing his ſanction, with merely aſcertaining the reality of the expenditures, and the reaſonableneſs of the ſum charged; but our records of laſt year are filled with remonſtrances written even previous to theſe expenditures, which impreſs us with ideas very different from thoſe of delicacy and amicable intercourſe; and moſt aſſuredly, if Hyder Beg Cawn was "the agent through whom Mr. Briſtow's "diſburſements for the charges of the reſidency were firſt "eſtabliſhed," as Mr. Briſtow has declared, the diſtruſt, and even rooted enmity which Mr. Briſtow had entertained againſt him, ought naturally to have led him to require ſome written authority for the diſburſement of ſums from his treaſury to ſo conſiderable an amount on account of the Nabob Vizier; or, if delicacy muſt again be ſuffered to intervene, he ſhould certainly have obtained a ſubſequent ſanction for them, by obſerving the ordinary form of delivering in his accounts monthly, which would probably have drawn from the Vizier or his miniſters either an approbation of the expenditures, or early objections.

I have

I have thus ſummarily conſidered the ſeveral grounds on which Mr. Briſtow has juſtified the charges ſtated in his accounts with the Nabob-Vizier; it will now reſt with the Board to decide upon them, and to determine what redreſs is due to his Excellency. This is incumbent on us in the firſt place; it muſt then become a ſubſequent queſtion, how far Mr. Briſtow was juſtifiable in appropriating to theſe expenditures without the ſanction of this government, money which he appears to have received on account of the ſubſidy due from the Vizier to the Company.

I have paſſed over the reflections conveyed by Mr. Briſtow on Hyder Beg Cawn, and the uſe which he has made of a quotation from my inſtructions. I have had too frequent occaſion to complain of the unbecoming references which Mr. Briſtow has made to my inſtructions, in partial quotations of them, as the warrant for his conduct, the invariable tenor of which was a groſs oppoſition to them: but I do not wiſh to encumber the preſent ſubject, or to waſte my own time with diſcuſſions not immediately in point.

In the courſe of this minute I have pointed out ſome propoſitions, on which, if the Board ſhall think fit to decide, the claims of the Vizier or Mr. Briſtow may be adjuſted. I do not, however, preſs a deciſion. The affairs of Owde, whilſt they were under that gentleman's management, have already ſwelled our records beyond their proper proportion, and given riſe to much diſagreeable argument; and it may perhaps be difficult for us now to purſue the ſubject with that cool indifference which juſtice requires, or without again entering into long and controverſial debates, which would neceſſarily employ that time and attention which may be ſo much more advantageouſly beſtowed on the immediate concerns of this government. If, in expreſſing ſuch ſentiments, I ſhould happen to meet thoſe of the other members of the Board, however anxious I may be to render ſpeedy juſtice to the Nabob Vizier, I will agree to ſuſpend our proceedings in this country, and refer the whole to the Company at home, who will now have ſufficient materials to enable them to form a deciſion.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Stables.—I requeſt that an exact ſtatement of all the allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier, ſince the treaty of Chunar, with vouchers for the ſame, may be accurately prepared, and laid before the Board.

Let it. (Signed) J. STABLES.

Signed { W. H.
J. M'P.

Mr. Macpherson.

I have just had time to read over cursorily the Governor-general's minute of yesterday on Mr. Bristow's last answer to the charges preferred against him by the Vizier and his minister.

Justice to the Vizier, and justice to the Company, are equally required in the consideration of these accusations, and of the defence pleaded against them.

To pass judgment on each particular charge, after considering fully the answer made to it, is in the nature of a judicial duty, and as such, the opinion given being recorded, will stand as a test of the impartiality and clear discrimination of the judge. I do imagine that even a difference of opinion in such cases can produce any unpleasant discussion; and I am ready, for my part, to give my opinion on each specific charge, and to call on the accused for any further justification he may have to offer, where that given is objected to, or appears unsatisfactory.

The subject of the Batta, and the Vizier's claims for the profits upon it, or for unjust advantages taken under that head by the Resident, is a subject which I confess myself not to understand clearly, either in the nature of the claims advanced, or the precision of Mr. Bristow's reasoning upon that head. In general, I know that all collectors of revenue, or their native agents, and all disbursers of large sums of money, or their native agents in this country, must have a profit upon the exchange or Batta, where coins are of many different kinds, and of local and often of arbitrary value.—A table of assay, ascertaining from our mint the intrinsic value of each coin, and prescribed by this government as the standard by which all monies are to be estimated, is the only check that law can establish to prevent impositions in receipt or disbursement of monies so various in value and estimation. The gross sum of rupees that Mr. Bristow acknowledges to have received and disbursed from and in the Vizier's country, is, I think, very near the sum which the Vizier admits him to have collected. The difference is, if I remember, a few thousand rupees.—If this collective sum of money was disbursed according to the assay table or Batta standard of government, it is upon the receipt of it by a different standard that illegal profits could be made. If the Vizier and his ministers knew our assay standard, it occurs to me that they ought to have complained while Mr. Bristow was at Lucknow, and could be confronted with the Aumils who paid Mr. Bristow their rents by an Assay standard more advantageous to the Vizier's government, or, in other words, by an inferior rate of Batta. Whatever may be in this idea, we know for certain, that the

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the laudable efforts of this government to bring all rupees in the provinces into the coin of Sicca rupees at our mint, have not yet succeeded so as to preclude the profits of a thousand Shroffs, and the currency of different rupees in every district. In our investigations in Davy Sing's collections at Rungpore, the *Devinvilla* makes an extraordinary article, and shews what a source of embarrassment, profit, and oppression the variable Batta on rupees must occasion, if there is no established standard.

On other grounds, this charge about the Batta constitutes a serious question. Should it be found that Mr. Bristow has truly made an immense profit by the Batta, and that such profit was even accumulated under the strict letter of the Assay Batta table established by this government in 1776, I am of opinion that the Company have a claim upon him; they know a process by which he can be made answerable, and it is their duty afterward to render the Vizier the justice to which they may think his Highness entitled.

The Company will readily believe that such excessive profits, if they are real, originated at an earlier period than Mr. Bristow's late charge of the residency at Oude; and that other residents and other collectors of revenue at Oude are equally responsible to refund what they may have unjustly acquired by the profits of Batta.

Relative to the other heavy charge of unauthorized disbursements, Mr. Bristow's defence has opened an extraordinary and alarming scene. Immense allowances paid to the Company's servants at Lucknow, without the official authority of this government, and, as the Governor-general declares, without his knowledge, except in the instances he mentions.

Whether it was the Vizier or his ministers, or the late or former Residents, by their own authority, that instituted these allowances, the Company have equal ground of alarm.

For my own part I declare, that though I knew generally that the Company's covenanted servants residing at Lucknow could not live there on their Company's allowances of two or three hundred rupees a month; and though I heard of fortunes made by military and civil servants at Oude, yet I never knew before that there were specific allowances of two, three, five, and six thousand rupees per month granted to different Company's servants at Lucknow, nor that a lack of rupees a year was granted to the commanding officers of our brigades in Oude, besides their Company's allowances, in consideration of their Bazars. As the servants are known who received these allowances, it would be easy to call upon them

 separately,

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ſeparately, to learn by what authority they either claimed or received ſuch extraordinary advantages.

But on ſuch ſubjects, as the Governor-general has juſtly and generally obſerved, the temper neceſſary to conduct our preſent more material concerns, and the attention which ought to be perhaps excluſively devoted to them, might be diſturbed; for the taſk of inveſtigating the advantages of individual ſervants can never be pleaſing nor favourable to unanimity: beſides, great relative queſtions ariſe from every inveſtigation relative to the affairs of Oude.

It is a principle in law as well as juſtice, that the accuſers, as well as the accuſed, ſhould be in certain reſpects amenable to juſtice, if their accuſations are found unjuſt, vexatious, or originating from unfair motives. The Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn may eaſily and at any time accuſe the Company's ſervants that are employed in Lucknow and in Oude; but ſhould their accuſations (which is poſſible) be unjuſt, or directed from views to be diſengaged from all agency on the part of the Company, it is the duty of the Company to obtain redreſs for their ſervants, and to be upon their guard againſt views of any ſeparate intereſt. Hyder Beg Cawn was likewiſe accuſed by Mr. Briſtow of malverſation in his office, and of an appropriation of immenſe revenues, and we have yet to ſee whether the Vizier and his miniſter will faithfully fulfil the engagements under which the Reſidency was withdrawn, or whether the arrangements made by the Governor-general for increaſing the Vizier's revenues are to be faithfully maintained by the Vizier's government.

Upon the whole of this important ſubject, I agree with the Governor-general to refer it in its preſent ſtate, with the letters which the Governor-general has addreſſed to us in conſequence of the Vizier's complaints, and with Mr. Briſtow's anſwers to the ſpecific charges preferred againſt him, to the honourable Court of Directors, for their opinion and deciſion; declaring at the ſame time my readineſs to continue any further inveſtigation of the ſubject here, if the other members of the Board are ſo diſpoſed.

The complaints againſt Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnſon were left to the opinion and deciſion of the Company, with this difference, that in ſome inſtances, where the charges appeared not fully exculpated, a want of exculpation was pronounced, but no puniſhment inflicted. But the charges againſt theſe gentlemen were of a different nature from thoſe againſt Mr. Briſtow;—they were chiefly charges of political delinquency. The charges againſt

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against Mr. Briſtow go to his property, as well as his character as a political agent.

There are gentlemen in the direction of the Company's affairs at home, of ability to inveſtigate the moſt involved tranſactions; of perſeverance and probity, to proſecute enquiry to the moſt beneficial ends; and of impartiality to decide with the utmoſt juſtice.

To them, and to the Company at large, let us recommend the full inveſtigation of theſe affairs, as involving the character of their ſervice, their juſtice to their allies, and that neceſſary line of future regulation which conſtitutes a boundary to the province of every ſervant, and a neceſſary reſtriction of thoſe alledged extraordinary profits and allowances which diſtract the views of all our junior ſervants, and which, on being promulgated at home, excite thoſe contentions which muſt ever prove dangerous to the exiſtence of the Company, if not to the good order of the conſtitution of our country.

(Signed) JOHN MACPHERSON.

Mr. Stables.

So near the diſpatch of the packet, I have barely had leiſure to peruſe the Governor-general's minute on Mr. Briſtow's laſt letter of exculpation.

I agree with the Governor-general to ſubmit, in their preſent ſtate, to the honourable Court of Directors, the ſeveral points of accuſation and defence, as they appear reſpectively in the charges preferred by the Vizier and his miniſter againſt Mr. Briſtow, and in the anſwers of that gentleman; but I cannot in my conſcience, in juſtice to myſelf and my employers, agree that the inveſtigation we are purſuing here on theſe ſubjects ſhould therefore ſtop.

It is obviouſly only from the lights they ſhall receive from us, that the Court of Directors can be enabled to judge with any preciſion on this intricate ſubject.

Thoſe we are now about to yield them I do not think, with deference to the Governor-general's opinion, will anſwer this end; and I conceive it my duty to trace them to the very foundation, ſince, after all that has been ſaid upon it, I muſt confeſs it appears to me ſtill very much involved.

In coming to a reſolution, as I truſt the Board will, to continue theſe enquiries, and in purſuing them till no poſſible doubt ſhall remain upon the merits, I have no apprehenſion that unanimity and the utmoſt temper will not *mark* all the proceedings of the Board, the final and only objects of thoſe enquiries being to diſcover truth, and to do juſtice.

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Having ſaid thus much, I ſhall forbear to enter further into the diſcuſſion, until the accounts and other documents relative to Oude, called for in my minute of the 8th inſtant, ſhall be laid before the Board.

11th Decem. 1784. (Signed) J. STABLES.
Eight o'Clock at Night.

11th December, 8 o'Clock at Night.

Governor General:

It is not poſſible for me, at this late hour, to reply to Mr. Macpherſon's minute, nor can I deſire that the packet ſhould be detained another day for ſo inadequate a purpoſe.

The original letter, written on the ſubject of the Batta, ſhews the iniquity of the tranſaction, and clearly explains it. I do not recollect that Mr. Briſtow denies it. There is no intricacy in the ſubject: the plain fact is, that Mr. Briſtow took the rupees from the Nabob at the Batta fixed by the Aſſay table, and took, as his own profit, the difference between that and the Bazar rate, which, on the Barelly rupees, was, as I recollect, 30 per cent.; and where the ſtandard rupees were paid by the miniſter, Mr. Briſtow gave credit for them only as Barelly rupees, allowing the Bazar Batta upon them, and taking to himſelf again the intermediate profit ariſing from the Aſſay table.

I again refer to my original letter upon this ſubject, of which I deſire the ſecretary to ſubjoin the date, becauſe I cannot recollect the preciſe Batta on theſe laſt rupees in the table. I think it was 43. 9, and the Bazar rate 15.

The Nabob, or his miniſter, could not bring theſe charges againſt Mr. Briſtow while he was at Lucknow.

They had to defend the exiſtence of the Nabob Vizier's government; and even for that they were obliged to have recourſe to ſecret means for tranſmitting their complaints, with which this was nothing, in compariſon of the enormity of the reſt; nor was it eaſy to have aſcertained the charges then, as I underſtand no accounts were adjuſted. It was mentioned to me by the miniſter as early as our firſt meeting at Benares, but the amount could not be ſpecified till ſome months after; and of that the reaſon is, I believe, aſſigned by me in a late letter.

I have not ſought this new debate; I have complained of the indecency of Mr. Briſtow's obtruding his letters on the Board at the cloſe of our diſpatches. I was compelled to anſwer him, but confined my anſwer to him.

I ſee

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I see fresh occasion to regret this behaviour of Mr. Bristow's, since it has drawn from Mr. Macpherson sentiments as ill agreeing with the temper of his judgment as with the principles of justice and policy. Enough of enormity has been established against Mr. Bristow; yet he has suffered no punishment. Why must punishment be denounced against the Nabob Vizier and his minister for daring to accuse Mr. Bristow? Let the rule be once established, that a highly patronized individual may not be arraigned for any crime, but at the peril of his accuser, though the person aggrieved, if he cannot make good his accusations: and I will promise you, that such a man may commit what acts he pleases with impunity, neither will the injured accuse, nor witnesses appear against him.

Mr. Middleton may have committed similar acts; Mr. Johnson may have been guilty of greater offences; others of yet greater, but they are not before us, nor can their misdeeds palliate or warrant Mr. Bristow.

I am an old servant of the Company, and am attached to them at least by the natural effect of long habit, if not by duty and gratitude. God forbid that I should be the means of involving it in contentions at home, which must prove dangerous to its existence! I know not whether this observation tends: Mr. Bristow has been charged with such acts as, if suffered, would have proved the ruin of a great province, and stamped the British name with infamy. I am sure it cannot be Mr. Macpherson's meaning that such acts should pass without a check, lest, by being promulgated at home, it should excite contentions dangerous to their existence. But I forbear the argument. The Company are in possession of sufficient evidence against Mr. Bristow; and it rests with their justice to pronounce judgment upon him—I desire not to be his judge.

(Signed) W. H.

Mr. Macpherson.

I am sorry that any general observations in my minute of the 9th should have been misconceived. The Governor-general will find, by the issue of the investigation against Mr. Bristow, that I am anxious that punishment should follow where he is guilty, or if he is guilty, as any member of the Board can be. Perhaps I ought to be more so; and if I remember well, I pointed out a process by which every unjust profit, or indeed every profit on batta, may be ascertained by the Company.

I was speaking of the enormous unauthorized allowances of the servants at Owde, when I observed that these advantages,

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advantages, on being promulgated at home, excite those contentions "which must ever prove dangerous to the "Company's existence." The late attack on the Company's charter is said to be an instance of such contentions, with the knowledge of those allowances, and the alledged profits or peculations of the Resident—I wished the Company to adopt regulations to restrain both, and put an end them. The inference to be drawn, and which I truly meant, was, that an office in the receipt and payment of such vast sums of money of different kinds of coin should be checked by rules that are adequate to check it, or not permitted.

In every discussion on this subject I trust I shall preserve the temper of my judgment; indeed I am confident I shall, and adhere liberally to the principles of that justice which is due on all sides.

(Signed) J. M'P.

In consequence of the desire expressed by Mr. Stables, in his minute of the 8th instant, and acceded to by the other members of the Board, the Accountant-general, who is the only officer at the presidency in the regular receipt of the accounts with the Vizier from Lucknow, has been called upon to prepare and lay before the Board an exact statement of all the allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier since the treaty of Chunar, with the vouchers for the same.

8th December 1784.

Governor-general.

The Governor-general begs leave to offer the following short remarks on the letter which has been delivered in by Mr. Cowper.

He assures the Board, that the allowances of the Resident's office, drawn either in the time of Mr. Bristow or his predecessor, Mr. Middleton, never were authorized by him, excepting the single instance of Mr. Trevor Wheler, which the accusations of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper compel him to acknowledge.—He had often heard that there were abuses, and that very large allowances were drawn at Lucknow, but he declares that he was unacquainted with the extent of them, until after his arrival at that place. He heard of these things as he heard of other irregularities, which he can trace to no authority, and which he would correct if he could; and he particularly declares that he knew nothing of any allowance appropriated to Mr. Cowper, or his predecessor, Mr. Johnson, beyond what appears in the public monthly accounts.

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counts. The Governor-general thinks it neceſſary to point out to the Board that Mr. Cowper in ſpeaking of "the allotted monthly expence of the Reſident's office, "or 25,000 rupees," from which fund, he ſays, he received his allowance as firſt aſſiſtant, mentions it as a matter of public notoriety, and wonders by what accident, at the final adjuſtment of accounts with Mr. Briſtow's predeceſſor, this charge of 25,000 rupees per month ſhould have eſcaped the notice of the Vizier. The Board are already informed that the Vizier has not refuſed to admit of this charge, on the contrary, his miniſters have aſſerted that it was what was eſtabliſhed, and his Excellency has deſired that the ſum of 25,000 rupees per month may be inſerted in the account as the limited amount of the expences of the Reſident's office and allowances of the gentlemen at Lucknow; and that Mr. Briſtow has objected to it, declaring that it was never offered to him, and that it is contrary to common ſenſe to ſuppoſe that either he or his predeceſſor ſhould have accepted of a ſum ſo inadequate to the purpoſe. Mr. Cowper's letter forms therefore a ſtrong evidence againſt Mr. Briſtow. The Governor-general cannot help obſerving that inſtead of thoſe motives of reſpect towards himſelf which Mr. Cowper profeſſes, both that gentleman and Mr. Briſtow, in delivering in their repreſentations at the very moment of an important diſpatch for Europe, ſeem to have ſtudiouſly choſen the particular time when they might moſt embarraſs the attention of the Board, and preclude a refutation of their aſſertions.

(Signed) W. HASTINGS.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 19*th February* 1785.

To the Honourable Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

My character, fortune, and future proſpects in life, depending on the reſult of the accuſations preferred againſt me by the Nabob Vizier and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, I beg leave to ſolicit the fulleſt information that your records can furniſh me with; in the hope that you will deem me intitled to this juſtice, I requeſt your permiſſion to have acceſs to, and copies of your proceedings, which may in any reſpect relate to the ſubject matter of the ſaid accuſations, as well as of all my tranſactions at the court of Owde.

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Before the honourable the Governor-general's return to the presidency, the members of your Board individually assented to my request, but your secretary, Mr. Hay, objected, until he should receive a written order from any individual member on the sanction of your honourable Board collectively, for which I now beg leave to apply.

I have the honour to be,
with the greatest respect,
Gentlemen,
your most obedient,
humble servant,
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Calcutta,
the 21st Dec. 1784.

Agreed, That Mr. Bristow be permitted to have copies of all the papers and proceedings in this department, that relate in any respect to his transactions at the court of Owde, and to the accusations preferred against him by the Nabob Vizier and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council, at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

A MOTIVE of respect towards the honourable Governor-general determined me to wait his return to the presidency, before I addressed you upon a subject to which, although I cannot strictly perhaps be deemed officially a party in honour, I still must and do feel myself most immediately and essentially interested.

In a letter from the honourable Governor-general to the Board, dated 25th of August last, and of which the communication came to me from my late superior at the court of Oude, Mr. John Bristow, it is stated, that of the monies collected by this gentleman during his late residency on the account of the Company, he had appropriated near fourteen lacks of rupees to the payment of expences which were not incurred by your government, and which had at no time received its sanction: and further, that this sum was discharged without the orders, or even the knowledge of the Vizier. In the account particulars of the amount declared to have been so appropriated, I find included the allotted monthly expence of the Resident's office, or 25,000 rupees. It was from this fund that I received my allowance as first assistant to Mr. Bristow;

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Briſtow; but I received it, gentlemen, under a conviction that it was equally known to the members of our government and to the Nabob, and authorized by both.

It is true that, however uninformed in this reſpect, I might yet have accepted ſuch allowance, when tendered to me by Mr. Briſtow without any riſk of perſonal conſequences, the Reſident being ſolely reſponſible for all diſburſements; but I ſhould have ſcorned, when information was open to me, to have recurred to the plea of ignorance, in excuſe of a conduct which, had it been adviſedly adopted, could admit of no juſtification, and which, in the retroſpect, promiſed no better conſolation than might be derived from the cheerleſs conſciouſneſs of undeſerved impunity: on the other hand, the ſalaries allowed to the aſſiſtants in the office of the laſt Reſident at Oude, were already of that public notoriety as made the aid of ſhift or ſubterfuge, either in the payment or acceptance of them, could gentleman have ſtooped to ſuch practice, every way unneceſſary. To eſtabliſh this poſition, I conceive, with much deference, it will be only neceſſary to prove (which may be done by a ſimple reference) that from the period of the Chunar treaty, theſe allowances had been regularly received by the gentlemen officiating as aſſiſtant to your Reſident at the Vizier's court. This being the fact, ſuppoſing the Nabob's account to be open to his inſpection, it is not eaſy to divine by what accident at the final adjuſtment of them with Mr. Briſtow's predeceſſor, the charge of 25,000 rupees per month ſhould have eſcaped the notice of his Highneſs. If, on the contrary, ſuch want of information is to be attributed to Hyder Beg Cawn, aſſuredly it muſt have been by very ſubtle management that the miniſter could have concealed a diſburſement of this nature and extent ſo long, ſo completely, and, as it would ſeem, ſingly, from the knowledge and obſervation of his maſter, and of the honourable the Governor-general. Indeed his ſucceſs in this reſpect muſt appear by ſo much the more wonderful, as it was a circumſtance familiarly known to Mr. Wheler, who, ſpeaking of his nephew Mr. Trevor Wheler as one of the aſſiſtants to the Reſident at the court of Oude, informed me, that as ſuch he received a ſalary of 5,000 rupees per month. This verbal communication occurred at the time of my appointment to be firſt aſſiſtant to Mr. Briſtow, and a very few days previous to my departure for Lucknow. The ſubject was afterwards renewed between us in a correſpondence by letter; which written documents, ſhould the honourable Board deem it neceſſary, I ſhall moſt readily lay before them, nor am I the leaſt apprehenſive that in ſo doing I ſhall incur the cenſure of

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of one candid or honourable man, the single object of this appeal being to vindicate my honour from a most serious charge, which, although it is directly exhibited against Mr. Bristow alone, I am aware, from the situation in which I stood relatively to that gentleman at Oude, may very warrantably be construed as applying to me also, at least, gentlemen, such construction is possible—thus to meet it, therefore, is only duty to my employers, to myself justice: for the rest it is, I doubt not, in the recollection of the honourable Board, with what art and industry my name has been still implicated with Mr. Bristow's, in all the crimes and oppressions which it has pleased Hyder Beg Cawn to attribute to that gentleman.—Such then, Sirs, are the facts upon which was founded my acceptance of the salary heretofore received by Mr. Richard Johnson, whilst standing in the same relation to the former Resident as I did to the last; and I flatter myself, that they will appear to the honourable Board, and to my employers, of a strength and complexion to satisfy and remove every doubt that I might otherwise have entertained of the propriety and authority under which it was tendered to me; sensible as I am, at the same time, that whosoever in these days hopes, or indeed deserves to maintain the reputation of disinterestedness, must be so clear in his account of pecuniary transactions, as to defy from any set of men, or from the world, any colourable application of the terms 'mysterious or evasive' to his conduct. In addition to what I have already submitted to you respecting my stipend as first assistant at Lucknow, and in proof of its legality and notoriety, I beg leave to subjoin a solemn declaration:—That, save except the 6,000 Sicca rupees per month, so stated to have been received by me as an allowance from the Nabob, and the further monthly salary of 400 Sicca rupees from the honourable Company, I neither directly or indirectly, whilst I acted in the capacity of first assistant to Mr. Bristow, benefited a single rupee by my station; and this declaration I shall at all times be ready to attest upon oath in the presence of the honourable Board, or of a proper magistrate.

In thus stating the extent of my allowances and emoluments as deputy to the Resident at the Vizier's court, I shun any invidious comparison of them with those enjoyed by very many gentlemen, greatly my juniors in the service, and in situations of infinitely less necessary expence; and shall further only crave permission respectfully to observe on this head to the honourable Board, that (the interval of my stay at Owde excepted, including a period of sixteen months) I have been since my return to Bengal, more

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more than three years ago, entirely without office or employement, and consequently without the means of subsistence at all.

I have the honour to be,
with the greatest respect,
Gentlemen,
your most obedient,
and most humble Servant,
(Signed) WILLIAM COWPER.

Calcutta,
7th Dec. 1784.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 5th April 1785.

READ the following letter, and its enclosures, from Mr. Bristow.

To the Honourable John Macpherson, Esq. Governor-general, and Members of the Supreme Council, at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

Your honourable Board having been pleased to comply with my request for free access to such parts of your records as related to, or were connected with my transactions while Resident at the court of Oude, a privilege which, as an accused person, I conceived to be my right, I now beg leave to submit to your consideration such further facts and arguments as I deem necessary for my vindication.

Lest however it should be supposed that I had designedly delayed my representations, with the view of taking an unfair advantage of the absence of the late Governor-general, you, Gentlemen, will I trust do me the justice to recollect, that my application for access to your records was preferred during Mr. Hastings's administration. The permission required was not granted until after his departure.—I could not prepare my reply with greater dispatch; and I rely on your candour, to pardon the freedom with which I shall addre s you on a subject in which my character, fortune, and future prospects in life, are so immediately connected.

It is my intention studiously to avoid any reflections on the opprobrious epithets applied to me by Mr. Hastings, as well from motives of respect to your honourable Board, as from a conviction that invective, evidently flowing from resentment, and general assertions, unsupported by proofs, need no serious refutation.—Necessity, however, compels me to request your permission to contrast the crimes laid to my charge by the sole voice of the late Governor-general, with the uniform approbation my former

mer conduct received in the years 1775 and 1776, when it was acknowledged, even by opposite parties, that I had served the Company with fidelity and success. Until the period when I was sent to the court of Oude, as the selected friend of Mr. Hastings, my public character had ever met the applause of my superiors; since then, indeed, my faculties and time have been wholly employed in defending myself against the malicious accusations of my enemies.

My political conduct having been honoured with your full approbation, the two specific charges lately exhibited against me, upon the exchange of rupees, and the exorbitant expences of my office, are the subjects which require further explanation.—And here I must observe, that the late Governor-general, vested with the powers of your government, and Hyder Beg Cawn with despotic sway over the Vizier's dominions, have not produced a single evidence in support of their accusations.

Had I been guilty of the crimes alledged against me, the proofs might surely have been obtained when inclination and power were active in the search.—For the minister, countenanced and protected by the first member of your administration, could with impunity have promised rewards to any native who should have stood forth as my accuser, while on the other hand it is probable that he threatened to inflict punishment on those should conceal the knowledge of transactions which might any way tend to criminate my conduct. I conceive I do not deviate from propriety, in forming suppositions, a mode of reasoning for which the late Governor has established the precedent.

" Whilst the Vizier and his ministers possessed their " proper authority, an adherence to the rates of the table " of assay was of little prejudice to them, because they " had it in their option to make their payments in what- " ever species they pleased; but after the English Resident " assumed and obtained a controul over the finances, the " loss was heavily felt; it *might* be supposed, that the " Resident would make use of his influence to cause a " great proportion of the payments to be made in those " species which were on the assay table most depreciated " in comparison of their current, or intrinsic value, since " he could immediately exchange them to the merchants " at a very considerable advantage to himself." The reasoning above stated I have already refuted in my address of the 2d of October 1784: but in corroboration of what I then advanced, I now beg leave to observe, that no European at Lucknow could have effected a single point of importance, Major Palmer alone excepted, and that

that gentleman, as private agent to Mr. Haſtings, was intimately connected with, and the confidential adviſer of the miniſter. Thus ſituated, with poſitive knowledge that Hyder Beg Cawn was my inveterate enemy and malicious accuſer, is it to be ſuppoſed that I could be ſo deficient in common ſenſe and prudence as to furniſh him with the certain means of effecting my ruin?

The ſuppoſition therefore of the late Governor-general, that I influenced the exchange, as well as his poſitive aſſertion, that I aſſumed and obtained a controul over the finances of the Vizier, I moſt ſolemnly declare to be totally void of foundation.

I am ſupported by a moſt reſpectable authority when I aſſert, that your government alone is competent to eſtabliſh equitable rules of exchange. The authority to which I allude is ſo much in point, that I hope the honourable the Governor-general will pardon me for quoting it in this place.—" A table aſſay aſcertaining from our " mint the intrinſic value of each coin, and preſcribed " by this government as the ſtandard by which all monies " are to be eſtimated, is the only check that law can eſta-" bliſh to prevent impoſition in receipts or diſburſements " of monies ſo various in value and eſtimation."—Such a table aſſay was preſcribed by your government in the year 1776, as the ſtandard by which all monies ſhould be received and diſburſed; and from this ſtandard I never in the leaſt deviated, nor indeed could I have done it with propriety, or the hope of ſafety.

Exchange of money has always been productive of advantage to individuals under every government. Mr. Macpherſon, in his minute already referred to, has uſed the following words, which as they apply to the preceding obſervation to the practice of this ſervice, he will, I hope, excuſe my inſerting.—" In general I know that all col-" lectors of revenue, or their native agents, and all diſ-" burſers of large ſums, or their native agents in this " country, muſt have a profit upon the exchange or " batta, when claims are of many different kinds, and " of local, and often of arbitrary value."—Having then the ſanction of government, the known general uſage of the ſervice, as well as the example of my predeceſſors, to juſtify this part of my conduct, I will not pretend to deny that emoluments were made at Lucknow by the Shroffage, or exchange of rupees. The ſame regard to truth which leads me to make this confeſſion, now impels me alſo to declare, that the amount was far ſhort of the enormous ſum ſtated in the fallacious account of Hyder Beg Cawn. I hold it to be a ſelf-evident propoſition that Mr. Haſtings, who excluſively preſided for a ſeries of years

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years over the honourable Company's affairs at the court of Oude, muſt have known ſome emoluments were attached to the office of Reſident. Could it be ſuppoſed that your repreſentative at that court was to ſupport himſelf with becoming dignity on one thouſand rupees per month, a ſum infinitely leſs indeed than the allowances granted to every gentleman employed in the political branch of your ſervice? Permit me to make a compariſon between my allowances as Reſident, and thoſe of many of the Company's civil ſervants, my juniors in rank, who at that time held appointments of much leſs reſponſibility, and unclogged with thoſe extraordinary expences, which in my ſituation were unavoidable. I believe, Gentlemen, it will appear, that my ſalary was comparatively trifling, and every way inadequate to the appointment, I had the honour to hold. An appoint-which Mr. Haſtings has termed "the moſt important in "the ſervice, both with relation to its political magni-"tude, and the great pecuniary intereſt attached to it."

I appeal then to the candour of your honourable Board, whether, on combining theſe circumſtances, I am not juſtified in aſſerting, that the late Governor-general muſt have been fully aware of ſome emoluments being made by the Reſident at Owde; and whether any could have been more fair or honourable than thoſe derived from an exchange, the rates of which had received the ſanction of your government, and were eſtabliſhed by long precedent. If, however, it can be proved, that at any period I endeavoured to influence the Shroffs, or others, to raiſe or depreciate the value of the different rupees, for my own advantage, or even if I interfered, directly or indirectly, further than to receive and diſburſe the public money, at the exchange fixed by your honourable Board, I readily admit that I ſhould deſerve the greateſt diſgrace and ſevereſt puniſhment your government or the law could inflict on me; but in juſtice to myſelf, I deny even the intention of ſo flagitious an act; and I muſt repeat, that had ſuch influence been exerted, the late Governor-general, through the channel of Hyder Beg Cawn, might eaſily have obtained certain evidence thereof, and would doubtleſs have produced it.—I ſhall now proceed to reply to the ſecond charge exhibited againſt me, on the exorbitant expences of the reſidency: here I entirely agree with the late Governor-general, that if the allowances objected to by the Vizier were eſtabliſhed by my predeceſſor, without the previous conſent or knowledge of his Highneſs, the precedent ought not to be admitted; but I feel a confidence when I aſſert, that both the Nabob and his miniſter had acquieſced in and approved of charges

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ſtill greater than thoſe for which my conduct has been arraigned. I have already obſerved, that thoſe charges did not originate with, nor were they in every particular approved of by me; it was my intention to have reduced them as ſoon as I had effected the important changes and regulations pointed out in my inſtructions as the grand objects to which my attention ſhould be primarily directed. I take the liberty of referring your honourable Board to thoſe inſtructions, it will be found that they inſiſt on a ſpeedy and effectual alteration in almoſt every department of the Nabob's government. To have attained a competent knowledge of matters ſo complicated, to have examined accounts purpoſely involved by the miniſter in intricacy and confuſion, would have been impracticable, without the zealous and active aſſiſtance of the gentlemen attached to my office; their diligence and conſtant application deſerved, in my opinion, ſome ſuperior allowances; in all events their conduct could not have merited, nor ſhould it have been required, by puniſhment, and ſuch they would have deemed a reduction of the ſalaries, which had from the uſage of years been conſidered as permanent, not to be done away but by the expreſs orders of the Vizier. I once indeed attempted to prevail on the miniſter to curtail Mr. Thomas's allowances, which appeared to me enormous, their amount being no leſs a ſum than 8,136 rupees, excluſive of what he drew in the capacity of ſurgeon to the Reſident; but my advice, as that gentleman obſerves, was treated with contempt: I repeat, however, it was my deſign to have leſſened theſe ſalaries, provided the Vizier's conſent could have been obtained, whenever I could have accompliſhed the object of my miſſion. Had I begun the arduous taſk of reformation in my own department, my time would have been entirely engroſſed in tranſmitting and anſwering repreſentations to your honourable Board, on matters comparatively inſignificant with thoſe important charges in the Nabob's government which I was ordered to carry into immediate execution. I had the official aſſurance of my predeceſſor, that the late Governor-general knew that theſe ſalaries were paid by the Vizier, even poſterior to the treaty concluded at Chunar: Mr. Middleton being in Europe, I cannot avail myſelf at preſent of his perſonal evidence, but I hope the honourable the Court of Directors will call upon that gentleman to avow or diſprove what I have here advanced.

Mr. Haſtings, in his minute dated the 7th of December 1784, has expreſſed himſelf as follows:

"For my own part, when the Vizier's miniſter firſt "informed me, that the amount which his maſter had

 "authorized,

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" authorized, and was willing to admit, for the charges " of the residency, and the allowances of the gentlemen " at Lucknow, was 25,000 rupees per months, I own I " was startled at the magnitude of the sum, and was " some days hesitating in my mind, whether I could with " propriety admit of it."

In another minute, dated the 8th December 1784, he assures the Board, " that the allowance of the Residents, " drawn either in the time of Mr. Bristow, or his pre- " decessor Mr. Middleton, never were authorized by " him, excepting in the single instance of Mr. Trevor " Wheler, which the accusations of Mr. Bristow and " Mr. Cowper *oblige* and *compel* him to *acknowledge*."

precludes

Now though the absence of Mr. Middleton proculdes the possibility of a positive proof that Mr. Hastings was informed of all the allowances which were paid by the Resident, still there exists a strong presumptive one, as will appear, that he was neither ignorant of, nor averse to, the Vizier's granting large salaries to more than one European gentleman. In the first place, I shall instance Mr. Thomas, who, exclusive of his pay from the Company, which was 1,200 rupees, claimed from the Vizier, with Mr. Hastings's knowledge*, 8,136 rupees per month. Secondly, the late Governor-general avows his authorizing Mr. Trevor Wheler's receiving 5,000 rupees per month. In this place I take the liberty to remind your honourable Board of that gentleman's being my fourth assistant. Was it natural to suppose, that he alone enjoyed superior allowances? or was it not more consonant to reason, for Mr. Hastings to conclude, that my other assistants were permitted to receive salaries from the Nabob superior or inferior to Mr. Wheler's, according to their repective ranks in the Company's service? Surely it could not be conceived that I would, by so unjustifiable a partiality in favour of Mr. Wheler, create jealousies and disgust in the minds of every gentleman belonging to my department. Lastly, to shew that Mr. Hastings knew and approved of large salaries, I beg leave to annex the copy of a letter, which nothing but the necessity of self-defence should ever have induced me to make public —it requires no comment.

" Dear Bristow,

" Sir Eyre Coote has some field allowances to receive " from the Vizier, they amount to Sicca rupees 15,554 " per month, and he has been paid up by the Vizier to

* *Vide Consultation 25th November, in which the late Governor-general recorded Mr. Thomas's application to him for these identical allowances.*

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" the

"the 20th of August 1782. The Governor has directed
"me to write to you, to request you to receive what is
"due from the Vizier from the 20th August last, at the
"rate of Lucknow Sicca rupees 15,554 per month, and
"send me a bill for the amount, the receipt of which I
"will acknowledge in the capacity of Sir Eyre Coote's
"attorney; and the Governor desires, that you will con-
"tinue to receive Sir Eyre Coote's field allowances at
"the same rate, and remit the money to me as it comes
"in."

"Calcutta, January 25th, 1783.

"(Signed) CHARLES CROFTS.

Permit me to request your honourable Board will bear in mind, that I could derive no possible advantage, but incur personal risque, from profusely lavishing, without authority, the public money on gentlemen, most of whom were unconnected with me in any other relation than my official capacity: when these facts and arguments are allowed their full weight, I hope and believe your honourable Board will admit, I had sufficient grounds to presume that the allowances now complained of were not only authorized by the Vizier, who has passed them without objection in his accounts for succeeding years, but were also approved by your late president, who has even continued the salaries to Messrs. Bruce and Taylor to this day, although they form a part of the inadmissible charges objected to by the Nabob Vizier in my account.

Mr. Hastings, in his minute dated the 7th of December 1784, speaking of charges incurred by the Nabob's verbal orders, observes, "were I once convinced that such an "amicable intercourse had always existed, and that Mr. "Bristow had uniformly shewn on other occasions an "equal degree of delicacy towards the Nabob Vizier, I "might have been induced to allow those arguments "great weight, and have contented myself on the Vizier's "disavowing his sanction, with merely ascertaining the "reality of the expenditures, and the reasonableness of "the sums charged. But our records of last year are "filled with remonstrances written even previous to those "expenditures, which impress us with ideas very different "from delicacy and amicable intercourse." I have ever considered and treated the complains preferred against me by the Vizier as proceeding from his minister, who it is notorious holds his sovereign in entire thraldom, and has often "dared to use the Nabob's name and even affixed "his seal to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or "written without his knowledge."—To prove however that an amicable intercourse did actually exist, I submit

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to the perusal of your honourable Board translations of a correspondence (No. 2) that passed between the Vizier and me, a short time after those remonstrances alluded to by the late Governor-general were made; when the Vizier wrote these letters he was absent from his minister, and therefore, it may be presumed, he spoke the genuine dictates of his heart. Many of the articles of expence which Hyder Beg Cawn asserts to have been incurred without the consent or knowledge of the Vizier, I have produced written authority for; this wilful misrepresentation I conceive is of itself sufficient to invalidate his evidence, but I can further prove that for years past he has uniformly persecuted me with complaints and crimination, which had no other foundation than malice. One of the last events of my residency in the year 1776 was the recommendation of this identical minister to the station he at present fills. I supported him with your authority, and first recommended him to your notice.—It was impossible that I could entertain any other than the most friendly disposition towards the man in whose elevation I had thus assisted, and it could only be my wish to unite with him in the execution of the public service; far different sentiments, however, possessed the mind of Hyder Beg Cawn; for, unprovoked by any offence on my part, he in the year 1781 instigated complaints against me in the name of the Nabob Vizier; I had at that period the honour to be your Resident at the court of Owde for the management of political affairs, and as my office was divested of influence and authority, there could be no object of contention between us, and it is difficult to reconcile the conduct of Hyder Beg Cawn in preferring these ill-founded and unprovoked complaints with the principles either of honour or gratitude.

In October 1782 your honourable Board thought proper to resolve on arrangements which should correct the multiplied evils that existed in the Vizier's government, and did me the honour of selecting me for this important trust. The whole period of my residency passed in contests with Hyder Beg Cawn; his object was to resist, mine to execute your orders. No situation, no conduct could guard me from his calumny; for the very regulations proposed by me, in strict conformity to your commands, were made the basis of his complaints. In saying thus much on the character and conduct of the minister, I conceive myself perfectly in order, as he is not only my accuser, but also the sole evidence against me; complaints injurious to my character have for a long time composed a voluminous part of your proceedings, and though successively refuted, have been renewed with equal eagerness and inveteracy

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veteracy. What reparation, what satisfaction am I to receive? I am myself amenable to the laws of my country, but my accuser is exempt from our jurisdiction; and may therefore, if any purpose is yet to be answered, continue to fabricate his falsehoods without any apprehension of punishment, and with every local advantage.

Though in the beginning of this letter I declared my resolution to refrain from remarking on the injurious epithets Mr. Hastings has so liberally bestowed on my conduct, I may, I think, without departing from this profession, be allowed to observe, that those epithets, however properly they might have been used by my accuser, were unbecoming the dignity of the Governor-general, and irreconcileable with the impartiality of a judge. Nor will it, I imagine, be considered improper or disrespectful to accompany this defence with some extracts (No. 3) from the late Governor-general's minutes written at different periods, whereby it will appear that his opinion of my public character frequently varied from bad to good, and good to bad, according to times, circumstances, and situations.

In conclusion, I make it my request, in which I hope to be indulged by your honourable Board, that this address may go a number in the packet to the honourable Court of Directors, with a reference to these letters noted in the margin, which form the first part of my reply to the accusations preferred against me by the late Governor-general, the Nabob Vizier, and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn. [2d and 4th Oct. 26th Nov.]

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Gentlemen,

your most obedient

humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Calcutta,
22d March 1785.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to the Honourable the Governor General and Council, dated the 2d of October 1784.

I never interfered in the detail, and my general instructions for the management of the treasury, enjoined a rigid adherence to the assay table and to the forms in use by my predecessors: when in the month of September last * I laid my accounts for the preceding year (1190 Fussally) before the Vizier and his ministers, no such objections as those now stated were urged, my accounts were found strictly conformable both in form and matter to former

* *Should be* 1783.

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usage, and were approved accordingly. Could Hyder Beg Cawn have discovered any thing chargeable with such matter of accusation as he has now thought proper to produce against them, it is not probable that, in his anxiety at that period to effect the removal of your Resident, who without power indeed to controul, yet unceasingly watched his conduct—it is not probable, I say, that so circumstanced he would have neglected so promising a prospect of accomplishing his favourite object; he has shewn himself anxiously disposed to criminate my conduct in every instance, and it is not reasonable to suppose he would have admitted an accusation of this nature, when he has not hesitated to produce as charges against me complaints stamped with the unequivocal proofs of my zeal for your service, and his determined opposition to every measure, however forcibly recommended by you, that militated in any shape against the uncontrouled power and influence he had so many years enjoyed over the Vizier's dominions.

A true extract.

JOHN BRISTOW.

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Bristow: Received May 1783.

I am rejoiced by the receipt of your letter, enclosing the draft of an answer to Mahajy Sindia, and Bow Buxshy, and an address from Major Browne. The news of your health affords me the highest satisfaction. By the blessing of God my health is good, and my heart is ever intent on receiving accounts of your welfare. I have caused letters to be written, agreeable to the drafts you prepared, to Mahajy Sindia and Bow Buxshy, and you will please to forward them.

Considering my heart anxious for an interview with you, you will write me frequent accounts of your health.

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Bristow: Received May 3d 1783.

By the blessing of God my health is good and prosperous, and my victorious army is encamped in Bairaitch. My mind, impressed with the purest friendship for you, is ever searching after the news of your health; and in the midst of the joy of my hunting, to which my inclinations are sincerely disposed, I frequently strike my heart with my nails, in recollection of you; for those reasons it is my sincere wish that you will always write me the news of your welfare and happiness, encrease the gratification

cation of my anxious feelings, and dissipate the irksome apprehensions of my mind, by the most pleasing intelligence of your good and prosperous health.

Mr. Bristow in Reply, 21st Jemmady ul sany 1197.

I am honoured with your Highness's letter, expressing your favour towards me, and informing me "that your "health is good and prosperous, the victorious army is "encamped at Bairaitch, that your heart is highly anxi"ous for the news of my welfare; and that, in the midst "of your hunting, to which your inclinations are sin"cerely disposed, you often strike your heart with your "nails, in recollection of me; for these reasons you re"quest me always to write you the news of my welfare "and happiness, thereby to encrease the gratification of "your anxious feelings, and dissipate the irksome appre"hensions of your mind, by the most pleasing intelli"gence of my good and prosperous health."

Accept of my most grateful thanks, for these proofs of your Highness's favour, and may the Almighty spread the shade of his blessings over your Highness for this recollection of me—I have in these days received a Shoka from the king, and a letter from the Nabob Nuyjud ud Dowla, directing me to apply to your Highness to suffer the exportation of grain from your dominions. Similar applications will be probably have been made directly to you through Major Browne. Being your Highness's sincere well-wisher, I addressed the honourable the Governor-general, in consequence of the drought in your dominions, requesting a remission of the duties on grain that might be exported from Benares to these parts; as the interests of both governments are mutual, in all likelihood my request will be approved. I have likewise addressed the gentlemen at Benares, Patna, and Churan Chupra, desiring they will encourage the merchants in exporting grain, as in your Highness's dominions the scarcity is so severely felt, that many of your subjects have perished. It is not expedient that you should suffer any exportation, at the same time it is necessary to shew a deference to his Majesty; and I therefore recommend that your Highness should write such an answer to the royal Shoka as may not cause offence. Having from of old been honoured with your Highness's favour, I hope you will continue to gladden me with frequent letters of your health.

From

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From the Nabob Vizier, in Reply: Received 30 May 1783.

Your pleafing letter with the news of your health to the following purport, in anfwer to mine, is received. That "an anfwer to the Shoka of the moft holy and "aufpicious king, on the fubject of the exportation of "grain from thefe parts to Delhy, fhould be fo framed "as not to caufe offence to his Majefty; and that you, "with a view to the good of humanity, and from friend-"fhip to me, had addreffed the honourable Governor-"general concerning a remiffion of the duties in Benares, "and alfo the gentlemen of Churan Chupra, &c. con-"cerning the giving encouragement to merchants."

The news of your welfare, and the other circumftances communicated in your letter, are clearly and explicitly underftood, and afford me fatisfaction. It is certain that the improvement of my affairs, and the good of humanity, are ever the wifh of your heart. Copies of my anfwer to the King, the Nabob Mujjeed ud Dowla, and Mirza Shuffer, go enclofed for perufal.--Out of refpect to the orders of majefty, I have not returned a peremptory denial, but made fome general excufes; and it appears that before this, an account the dearnefs of grain, and the diftrefs of the people, I iffued my orders to Khewja, Ainudine Almafs Ally Cawn, Mahomed Beg, &c. prohibiting the exportation of grain from my dominions.

I am encamped at Nanapara, on account of the plenty of game which is in this quarter. To-day by the ftrength with which the Almighty has bleffed me, I valiantly, and with fprings like the Tyger, killed, by thoufands of arrows and mufket fhots, an Elephant which would not yield to the Elephants of the Heavens in fiercenefs, and which in fize would out-top the mountains—I granted falvation to a world labouring under his violence. In the fpirit of the pureft friendfhip I make this communication; and it is incumbent on you, that, confidering me anxious for your health, you always write me letters.

A true tranflation.

JOHN BRISTOW.

Extract of Secret Confultations, Fort William, 21ft December 1774.

The Governor-general objects to this propofition, becaufe in his judgment, Mr. Briftow is not qualified for the office, neither by his knowledge of the Perfian language, nor by any diftinguifhed abilities.

Extract

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Extract of the Proceedings of the Governor General and Council of Bengal in the Secret Department the 2d Dec. 1776.

Governor-general.—I bring no charge against Mr. Bristow. I do not accuse him of any faults. I know of no charge that was produced against Mr. Middleton when he was removed. The majority of the Board thought proper at that time to remove the public minister at the court of the Nabob of Oude, who had received his nomination from me, and to appoint another in his stead, in whom they had a confidence. Highly as I esteem the merits of Mr. Middleton, I will not bring them into an invidious comparison with those of Mr. Bristow, whom, though totally unknown to me but by his public character, I esteem.

Extract of the Proceedings of the Governor General and Council of Bengal, in their Public Department, the 2d October 1780.

Governor-general.—I will ask who is Mr. Bristow, that a member of the administration should at such a time hold him forth as an instrument for the degradation of the first executive member of this government? What are the professed objects of his appointment? What are the merits of his services? Or what the qualifications which entitle him to such uncommon distinction? Is it from his superior integrity, or from his eminent abilities, that he is to be dignified at such hazard of any consideration that ought to influence the members of the administration? Of the former (his integrity) I know no proofs; I am sure it is not an evidence of it that he has been enabled to make himself the principal in such a competition; and for the test of his abilities I appeal to the letter which he has dared to write to this Board, and which, I am ashamed to say, we have suffered. I desire that a copy of it may be inserted in this day's proceedings, that it may stand before the eyes of every member of the Board, when he shall give his vote upon a question for giving their confidence to a man (their servant) who has publicly insulted them (his masters) and the members of the government to whom he owes his obedience; who assuming an association with the Court of Directors, and erecting himself into a tribunal, has arraigned them for disobedience of orders, passed judgment upon them, and condemned or acquitted them as their magistrate or superior.—Let the Board consider, whether a man possessed of so independent a spirit, who has already shewn a contempt of their authority, who has shewn himself so wretched

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wretched an advocate for his own cause, and negociator for his own interest, is fit to be trusted with the guardianship of their honour, the execution of their measures, and as their confidential manager and negociator with the princes of India.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor-general, to Edward Wheler and John Macpherson, Esquires; dated upon the Ganges, near Sooksagore, 22d September 1782.

I had the pleasure of finding, upon the most impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Bristow during his former residence at the court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive; I accordingly wished to recommend him to succeed the present Resident, provided the Vizier had no reasonable objections to his appointment.

Extract of a Memorandum transmitted in conformity to the Orders of the Honourable the Governor-general, by Major Davy, to Mr. Bristow, in a Letter dated the 7th October 1782.

Major Palmer to inform the Nabob and his ministers, that Mr. Bristow is not the choice of the Gentlemen of the Council, but the Governor's own and sole choice has now been formed on the most perfect knowledge of his integrity, honour, and abilities.

Extract of the Honourable the Governor-general's Minute into Council, the 30th of September 1783.

Is it possible that I could have used so much delicacy, and affected such a tenderness towards the Nabob, if I meant to send a tyrant to rule over him?

I shall forbear to speak my apprehensions of the consequences, if it shall be finally resolved by the members of this Board, that Mr. Bristow shall be formally vested with the powers of ruling the dominions appertaining to the Nabob Assoph ul Dowla, and guarranteed to him against all invaders by a sacred treaty, by which the faith and honour of the British Nation, and not the Company alone, are pledged to maintain it—a system of such controul cannot subsist on constructive powers; and if the Board do not notify to Mr. Bristow the declaration which I have made of the revocation of them, which he received from me, and which he has grossly abused, I shall; and at his peril let him hereafter quote them as containing the authority for his actions: those who abet him in his conduct ought to prescribe to him the rule of it; when I am made acquainted

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acquainted with that rule, I will record my opinion of it. Would to God I could prevent it, and the dreadful consequences which, however qualified, must attend the exercise of any dominion built on such a foundation, and committed to such a ruler!

Extract of the Governor General's Minute upon Mr. Johnson's Defence; Consultation, 21st October.

Upon the whole, though I have strictly delivered my opinion on Mr. Johnson's defence, I must add, that I think he has been sufficiently punished by the deprivation of his office, and by the severity with which it was immediately effected: "not to be worse stands in some rank of praise." His faults sink to mere errors and inadvertencies, when compared with those of his principal, and are wholly lost in the contrast with those of the present Resident.

True extracts.
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Ordered, That the secretary do acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Bristow's letter and its enclosures, and acquaint him, that copies thereof were transmitted, agreeable to his request, to the honourable Court of Directors, with the dispatches, by the Hinchingbrooke.

Read the following Letter from the Accountant-general.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq; Governor-general, &c. Council of Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your commands of yesterday's date, directing me to prepare "an accurate statement of all the allowances paid by the "Nabob Vizier since the treaty of Chunar, with the "vouchers for them, and to transmit the same to your "honourable Board without delay."

In obedience to these commands all the public accounts of the Lucknow station, in which I have any official concern, have been carefully inspected, and are not found to contain an entry of any such payment; nor have there ever been transmitted from that station to this office any other vouchers than the copies of such as appear to have been taken for the monthly allowances of the honourable Company's covenanted servants and surgeon attached to the station, paid by the Resident, and carried to the honourable Company's debit.

There

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There is however an instance which may appear in some measure a deviation from this assertion, and somewhat analogous to the description given of these required by the Board. This occurs in the month of March 1783, and is stated as follows, in the entry made thereof, to the debit of the Nabob.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,
honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient
humble servant,
(Signed) Wm. LARKINS,
Accountant-general.

Fort William,
Accountant general's office,
14th Dec. 1785.

Amount paid Major Palmer his allowance for three months, on a deputation to Fyzoola Cawn	9,000
Paid Mr. Grant his allowance for three months, as assistant to the deputation - - -	4,500
Fyz. 16 sun Sa. rupees -	13,500

Major Palmer's Letters and Instructions.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 6th October 1783.

THE Governor-general delivers in the following minute, with two letters from Major Palmer, and one from Hyder Beg Cawn, dated 6th October 1783.

The Governor-general lays before the Board two letters lately received from Major Palmer, and one from Hyder Beg Cawn. As both refer to Lieutenant Colonel Martin, as having been privy to many of the circumstances which relate to the complaints exhibited against Mr. Bristow, and as Hyder Beg Cawn directly appeals to his testimony for the truth of his representation of them, I desire that a letter may be written by the secretary, in the name of the Board, to Lieutenant Colonel Martin, requiring him to declare in writing, and with the solemnity of an oath, a narrative of all that he knows concerning the various matters of complaint which have passed between the Nabob Vizier, and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn on one part, and Mr. Bristow on the other.

Major Palmer having, in his first letter, alluded to a private correspondence which passed between him and Mr. Cowper, which that gentleman carried to be copied for the use of Mr. Bristow, and the substance and tendency of the same having been long since suggested to the Governor-general, in terms which seemed to be intended to impress

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impress him with unfavourable sentiments of Major Palmer, for the share which he has had in the late transactions at Lucknow, the Governor-general requests, that if the other members of the Board are in possession of a copy of this correspondence, and conceive that any inference may be drawn from it, which may serve to illustrate any part of the general subject, they will be pleased to lay it before the Board, that it may be recorded with the other corresponding materials.

Sir,

The proceedings of Mr. Bristow since his last appointment to the office of Resident at the court of the Nabob Vizier, having been publicly complained of to you by the Vizier and his acting minister, as highly injurious to the rights, interest, and dignity of the former, and as unjust, arbitrary, and oppressive to the latter, and the share of interference which I have avowedly taken in those transactions having been misrepresented both in the motives and degree, and affected to be considered as the result of a concerted plan for encouraging an opposition in the minister to the measure and authority of the Resident, and of creating a misunderstanding between them, for the purpose of removing Mr. Bristow from his office; I think it my duty to make a public report to you of such transactions as have been communicated to me by the Vizier and his minister, on what grounds I thought myself obliged to interfere in their complaints, and to what extent that interference has been carried, that you and the public may judge whether my conduct has been actuated by malignant or interested views, or by motives of duty and fidelity to you, and of regard to the Company's and the national interest.

You will be pleased to recollect, Sir, that after I had left Lucknow last year, on my return to the presidency, from an unsuccessful commission with which you had charged me to the Vizier, you communicated to me the appointment of Mr. Bristow to the residency of Oude, and directed me to return to Lucknow, and in your name to acquaint the Vizier and his ministers of this appointment, to impress on their minds a firm reliance on your having given Mr. Bristow your entire confidence, and of your determination to afford him your utmost support, and to endeavour to establish reciprocal confidence and cordiality.

Having faithfully and zealously executed this commission, I should have left Lucknow, and returned to Calcutta, conformably to your instructions, had I not at that time received intimation, that you were disposed to favour

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favour a propofal which I had made to you of an eftabliſhment for myſelf in this quarter, which would have required my preſence at Lucknow if it had taken place. I therefore remained here principally for my own convenience, but with the hopes alſo of cementing the harmony which I flattered myſelf I had been inſtrumental in founding at the Durbar, but I received very early intimation of a diſpoſition in Mr. Briſtow, which greatly damped this hope; I heard from various quarters, that Mr. Briſtow had declared his diſaffection to your perſon, and diſclaimed all dependance on your authority and influence; and the firſt ſtep which Mr. Briſtow took after his arrival at Lucknow, clearly tended to deſtroy that confidence which the public ſervice required ſhould ſubſiſt between him and the miniſter, and to alarm the latter for his perſonal ſecurity, and the ſtability of his office. Mr. Briſtow had authorized Lieutenant Colonel Martin to enter into a written engagement with the miniſter, implying fidelity and obedience on the part of the latter, and confidence and ſupport on the part of Mr. Briſtow; this engagement Mr. Briſtow thought proper to cancel, and to leave the miniſter without any reliance on his favour or protection.

The apprehenſions of the miniſter, at a tranſaction ſo extraordinary and alarming, were confirmed and increaſed by a demand which Mr. Briſtow ſoon after made upon him of twenty-five lacks of rupees, from his own private fortune, for the public ſervice, under the menace of being diſmiſſed from his office in caſe of refuſal. The next occurrence which was repreſented to me for your information, was a requiſition made by Mr. Briſtow to the miniſter of a Shoka in the Vizier's name, but without his knowledge, directing the payment of ſpecific monthly ſubſidy, for the Futty Ghur detachment.

Before my departure for Rampoor I was informed that Mr. Briſtow required of the Vizier to diſplace certain of his houſhold officers, and that others of his nomination ſhould be admitted in their room. Some time after my arrival at that place, I received intelligence from the miniſter, that Mr. Briſtow had proceeded to regulate, by his own authority, and againſt the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances and oppoſition of the Vizier, the offices and expences of the houſhold, for which purpoſe he appointed a Cuzaunchee and Muſhriff; directed a ſeparate place for the reception of the treaſure; took the receipts and diſburſements under his own charge; obliged the Muttefudys to attend Mr. Cowper with the accounts of the houſhold, under many circumſtances of rigour and diſgrace; and made many

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many reductions and regulations in the Vizier's domestic œconomy.

The next subject of complaint, with which I was desired to make you acquainted, was the mode of interference which Mr. Bristow made use of in establishing an adaulut, in the name of the Vizier, but under the controul of Mr. Cowper; who, as it was stated to me, held the courts in his own house, and received, examined, and decided upon petitions; and also dictated the decrees to be signed, some by the Vizier himself, and others by the Aumils in whose jurisdiction the complaints respectively lay.

Mr. Bristow, of his own authority, and without the knowledge of the Vizier, ordered the reduction of four thousand cavalry, and seven thousand infantry; he also assumed the payment of the Vizier's cavalry, and appointed Mr. Cowper to the office of paymaster; directed Tunkaws for the payment of the troops to be included in the Company's Jydads, upon which Tunkaws two lacks of rupees were actually collected and paid in to Mr. Cowper, but refunded from the strong opposition made by the Vizier.

Mr. Bristow peremptorily directed the minister, by letter, to send Mahomed Beg as Sazoul to Furrockabad, without the knowledge of the Vizier.

The minister repeatedly advised me of Mr. Bristow's having encouraged the Vizier to disgrace and punish him, giving the Vizier assurances that our government would not disapprove of or interfere in any measure which he might think proper to take with his own servants; this relation the Vizier himself confirmed to me.

It has been reported to me, and in some instances has been proved to you, that whenever the Vizier's refusal has been opposed to any of the above measures, Mr. Bristow has declared, and even to the Vizier himself, his determination to carry them into execution whether the Vizier consented to them or not.

Mr. Bristow having, of his own authority, granted Tunkaws upon that part of the revenue assigned for defraying the Vizier's houshold expences, to be paid to the Cuzaunchee and Mooshriff, whom he had appointed, sent for the Vizier's seal, in order to affix them to the Purwannahs directed to the Aumils; the Vizier at first refused to send his seal, but fearing that Mr. Bristow would execute the measures without it, and thereby degrade his authority, at length complied; when Mr. Bristow rejected the use of the Vizier's seal, and declared that his own should suffice, and be of equal validity in all public acts of this government.

 Other

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Other inſtances of the high tone of authority over this government, and of independence on yours, which Mr. Briſtow has aſſumed, have been circumſtantially and conſiſtently related to me, which having paſſed in converſation only, do not eaſily admit of proof, and which perhaps are not material if they did; but every other tranſaction herein particularly recited appeared to me of ſuch high importance to the peace and ſecurity of both governments, to the national character for juſtice and moderation, and to your perſonal reputation, and are ſo inconſiſtent with the ſentiments I have ever heard you expreſs, and were, beſides, accompanied with ſuch teſtimony, either in writing or by references to Lieutenant Colonel Martin's knowledge of the facts, that I muſt have violated every obligation of duty and fidelity to you and to the Company, if I had refuſed the requiſitions of the Vizier and his miniſter, to forward their repreſentations to you.

Beſides theſe obligations which I owe to you and to the Company, in common with every other member of your family and government, a more particular one was impoſed upon me, by the commiſſion with which you charged me to the Vizier, to eſtabliſh the credit and influence of Mr. Briſtow at his court, and to encourage the Vizier to a reliance on Mr. Briſtow's good diſpoſition towards him. I muſt have forfeited my own character, and have ſubjected yours to unjuſt ſuſpicion, if I had refuſed to be inſtrumental in obtaining from you a redreſs of grievances, which in your name I had encouraged the Vizier to hope he would never experience.

The ſhare which I had taken in the complaints againſt Mr. Briſtow having been incidentally mentioned by me in a correſpondence with Mr. Cowper on a private ſubject, that Gentleman thought proper to furniſh Mr. Briſtow with a copy of it, which I underſtand has been forwarded to Calcutta. This is a principal reaſon for my ſuppoſition in the former part of this addreſs, that it would be attempted to be proved, that my continuance at Lucknow, after my return from Rampore, was for the purpoſes of encouraging the miniſter to oppoſe the meaſures of Mr. Briſtow, and to excite complaints againſt his conduct.

I am as certain that no ſuch inference can be fairly drawn from any part of that correſpondence, as that the direct reverſe is the truth.

My detention at that period was occaſioned entirely be two young children being ſucceſſively ſeized with the ſmall pox, and before their recovery I received your commands to remain at Lucknow, in conſequence of the public complaints which had reached you from the Vizier and

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and his minister against Mr. Bristow. It was the complaints against Mr. Bristow which caused my stay, and not my stay which caused the complaints; and so far have I been from exciting them, I solemnly declare that I never enquired of the ministers, or any other person, into the proceedings of Mr. Bristow. The communications of them were made to me sometimes by the Vizier himself, but more frequently by the minister on his own behalf, and on that of the Vizier; and all the encouragement I gave to them, was to hope for redress if the complaints were just; and even this with the strictest caution against accusations either frivolous or false, warning the minister, that if they were found to be such, the mischief which he intended to others would recoil upon himself. It was my constant advice to the minister, to comply without delay or hesitation with every requisition which Mr. Bristow made in the name of government; but to demand such requisitions should be made in writing, for his own security, and justification to his master.

How much soever it may be the interest of Mr. Bristow to have it believed that complaints against him have been sought for and encouraged, he will never establish such a belief, whilst your character obviates the possibility of a suspicion that you could employ a man who has possessed your confidence and esteem for near ten years in the debasing office which Mr. Bristow would assign to me; and I trust that the invariable tenor of my own conduct will, to all who know it, acquit me of being capable of either assuming or accepting such an office.

Lucknow, I have the honour to be, &c.
16th Sept. 1783. (Signed) Wm. PALMER.

Sir,

Since the dispatch of my public address to you of the 16th instant, I have discovered that I was mistaken as to the circumstance of Mr. Bristow having authorized Lieutenant Colonel Martin to enter into the engagement therein mentioned with Hyder Beg Cawn, and which Mr. Bristow, after his arrival, disavowed and cancelled. I now understand that Lieut. Col. Martin, as the confidential friend and agent of Mr. Bristow, gave, of his own authority, a written assurance for the purpose of removing his apprehensions of the resentment of Mr. Bristow on account of a former misunderstanding between them. This difference in the manner of the transaction makes little or none in the substance of it, and the inference which I drew from it still remains the same.

Lucknow, I have the honour to be, &c.
20th Sept. 1783. (Signed) W. PALMER.

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Consultation 21st October.

Governor General. 20th October 1783.

The frequent use which has been lately made of Major Palmer's name in the records of the late transactions at Lucknow, the assertion made by Mr. Johnson in his defence, that Major Palmer was at Lucknow in the character of a political agent, and the private suggestions which have been conveyed to me of misconstructions, passed on the nature and object of Major Palmer's deputation, compel me to lay before the Board the original instructions which he received from me, and which, if I can trust to my own recollection, and the rule of conduct which I have invariably prescribed myself in cases of this kind, were both seen and approved of by the actual members of the Board. I own that it is with reluctance that I present them. They were not intended to be recorded, their primary object being more to quiet the mind of the Nabob, to whom I owed that return of attention, for the honest attachment which he shewed to me when he thought me in distress, and my person in danger, than for any other purpose. This must account for the unapplied heads of memorandums with which the instructions conclude. I cannot at this time, were it necessary, explain them, but know that they were designed only to preserve his recollection of the loose and undetermined ideas which I had communicated to him in conversation respecting them.

I desire that this minute, with Major Palmer's instructions, may be added to the other papers which have been recorded on the general subject of the complaints preferred against Mr. Bristow, and transmitted with them by this dispatch to the Court of Directors.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Acting Secretary to the Secret Department.

Consultation, 21st October.

To Major William Palmer.

Sir, Fort William, 6th May 1782.

I depute you to go to Lucknow, and to wait upon the Nabob Vizier in my name, observing the following instructions:

1st. You will assure him, that I feel it a sensible disappointment that I am myself disabled from performing the visit to his court which I promised him at Chunar, by

by many causes which at this time render my presence at Calcutta indispensably necessary. These causes, as they are fully known to you, you will explain as far as you shall judge it proper, or conducive to the other and more essential points of your commission.

2dly. It has been a matter of equal concern and surprize to me, to learn by the letters of the Resident, that the Nabob Vizier was with difficulty, and an almost unconquerable reluctance, induced to give his consent to the attachment of the treasure deposited by his father under the charge of the Begum his mother, and to the resumption of her Jagheer, and the other Jagheers of the individuals of his family, although these measures were the effects of his own suggestion, and proposed with great earnestness to me for my concurrence.

I desire that you will inform him, that in these and the other measures which were either proposed by him, or received his concurrence in the agreement passed between us at Chunar, I neither had, nor could have any object but his relief, and the strengthening of his connections with the Company, and that I should not on any other ground have exposed myself to the personal obloquy which they could not fail to draw upon me by my participation in them, but left him to regulate by his own discretion, and by his own means, the œconomy of his own finances, and with much more cause the assertion of his domestic right. In these he had no regular claim to my interference, nor had I, in my public character, any claim upon him, but for the payment of the debt then due from him to the Company, although I was under the strongest obligations to require it for the relief of the pressing exigencies of their affairs. He will well remember the manner in which, at a visit to him in his own tent, I declared my acquiescence freely and without hesitation to each proposition, which afterwards formed the substance of a written agreement as he severally made them; and he can want no other evidences of my motive for so chearful a consent, nor for the request which I added to the means of fulfilling his purposes in them. Had he not made these measures his own option, I should not have proposed them; but having once adopted them, and made them the conditions of a formal and sacred agreement, I had no longer an option to dispense with them, but was bound to the complete performance and execution of them as points of public duty and of national faith, for which I was responsible to my king and the Company, my immediate superiors; and this was the reason for my insisting so peremptorily in their performance and execution, when I was told that the Nabob himself

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had relaxed from his original purpofe, and expreffed a reluctance to proceed in it.

When you have given him this explanation of my motives in regard to the late tranfactions, you will endeavour to learn, both by immediate application for that effect to the Nabob himfelf, and by enquiry with others, what were the real caufes which influenced the apparent change in his inclination refpecting this tranfaction; and whether he had any grounds for offence or diffatisfaction in the courfe of it.

As thefe, if they exift, are beyond the reach of any fatisfactory conjecture which I can form, I can give you no fpecial inftructions for your reply, but leave you to remove the Nabob's exception by fuch affurances as you may be enabled to make to him by your general but intimate knowledge of my fentiments and intention in whatever has a relation to his interefts, and his alliance with the Company and the Britifh nation.

3dly. I defire you to endeavour to obtain from the minifters, and from Almafs Alli Cawn, fuch fums of money as they can fpare from their own means, or raife by their credit upon loan, for the fervice of the Company. To effect this, it will be neceffary to convince them, that they will be no lofers by it; but that, on the contrary, their property will require a fecurity from being lodged in the Company's funds. Explain to them the nature of the Company's intereft notes, and the means of credit by which they pafs in circulation, and are transferable from the original to other fucceffive proprietors, fo as to give them a juft idea of the tenure, and of the equal footing on which Native, Alien, and Britifh Proprietors ftand in the poffeffion of them. At the fame time, it will be proper to apprize them of the fluctuation of their current value, which it would be criminal to fuppress. You may affure them that when peace is reftored to our eftablifhment, and our expences are confequently diminifhed, the debt will be gradually paid off, as a former debt, contracted before my appointment to the government, to a much longer amount, was difcharged in the courfe of two years, within your own remembrance; and that the eftimated value of the notes will rife to the rates of their fpecific fums, and even above them, on the profpect of payment; fo that the proprietors will be fubjected to no lofs, unlefs they fhall chufe to part with their property in the notes during the intermediate time of our inability to difcharge them, the annual intereft due in the interval being duly and punctually paid. I have no doubt of their fidelity, but it can no way be fo ftrongly fhewn, nor the

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the Company's ſupport of them ſo ſtrongly engaged, as by the aſſiſtance required.

4thly. The Nabob Vizier having, by an intimation made to Mr. Middleton in the month of February laſt, been pleaſed to expreſs his deſire to make me a preſent of ten lacks of rupees, and requeſted my previous conſent and acceptance of the ſame, I deſire you will make my acknowledgement in proper terms for this inſtance of his liberality and benevolence; and acquaint him that I am precluded from accepting it by many conditions, but by one eſpecially, which I beg him to take in good part; namely, that if I had received it at the time in which the tender of it was made, it would have been liable to conſtructions, even in his breaſt, ſo repugnant to the diſintereſted friendſhip which I profeſs, and bear towards him, that no conſideration of perſonal profit could have induced me to accept it at ſuch hazard. If he ſhould renew the offer to you, you will inform him that my objection remains the ſame, and is inſuperable, but that if he will be pleaſed to transfer it to the Company, for the relief of their preſent and known diſtreſſes, I will accept of it on their behalf, with a thankfulneſs equal to that which I ſhould have felt and expreſſed for the gift, had it been made to myſelf; the wants of the Company being at this time of equal concern to me as my own. Let him underſtand this ſubject rightly, and he will ſee in my refuſal, thus qualified, the moſt convincing proof of my friendſhip for him, and regard for his intereſt.

5thly. It is very much my deſire to impreſs the Nabob with a thorough confidence in the faith and juſtice of our government, that is to ſay, in my own, while I am at the head of it: I cannot be anſwerable for the acts of others, independent of me. I hope it will not be difficult to convince him of this truth; for I have certainly afforded proofs of it, nor has the reverſe been ever perſonally imputed to me. It is my deſire to aſſiſt him in regulating his adminiſtration, becauſe the ſucceſs of my own is nearly connected with it; but is much more liable to ſuffer by its defects or misfortunes.—The inverſion of this obſervation will not apply to the effects of our misfortunes on his affairs, except in the moſt deſperate extremes.—Though we have been involved in wars with all the ſtates around us, his dominions have enjoyed a ſtate of tranquillity undiſturbed by foreign enemies, becauſe we have ſtood between him and thoſe who might have been his enemies. But were we to withdraw that interpoſition, he would ſoon experience a dreadful reverſe.—I know not how you will convince him of this by words,

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nor do I wish to put it to the proof; but you may assure him, that we will never interfere in his affairs beyond his own desire, nor make any claim upon him, but for what may remain of his debt to the Company, the payment of his subsidy, and of the future charges incurred by other detachments employed at his requisition and for his defence. Much delicacy and caution will be required in your declarations on this subject, lest they should be construed to extend to an immediate change in the administration of his affairs, or to the instruments of it. Their persons must be considered as sacred, while they act with the participation of our influence. This distinction the Nabob understands, nor will it be either necessary or proper to allude to it, unless he himself should first introdue the subject.

6thly. Give the minister privately assurances of the present support and future protection of our government.

Let your stay with the Nabob Vizier be short, and be careful to prevent its affecting the influence of the Resident.

For your complete information upon the subject of these instructions, I shall furnish you with copies of the agreement made by me with the Nabob Vizier in August last, and of my instructions to the Resident respecting it.

I shall also give you letters of introduction both to the Nabob Vizier, and to the ministers.

The following are given you as the heads of subjects recommended to your enquiry, but too variable for specific instructions:

Goorookpoor and Bareich.
Jagheers.
Fyzoola Cawn.
Furrackabad.
The King.

You will communicate these instructions, and my sentiments on every other subject of your mission, to Major Davy, who attends you as your assistant, and in case that sickness or any other accident should prevent your proceeding to Lucknow, you will transfer them to his charge for execution.

I am, &c. &c.
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Acting Sec. to the Secret Department.

Mr.

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Mr. Hastings's Proposal to Visit Lucknow, 1784.

Mr. Hastings' Minute.

Governor General. 20th January 1784.

IT is with reluctance that I bring before the Board a subject of the greatest importance, at a period not ostensibly requiring it; but the necessity of it has been long since foreseen, and not unnoticed in the verbal communications which I have had occasion to make to the members of the Board.

On the 28th of last month, while the late arrangement of the concerns of this government in the province of Owd was under discussion, I received a letter from my secretary, Major Palmer, at Lucknow, containing a very alarming representation of the disordered state of that country, and urging the necessity of my repairing to Lucknow for the purpose of giving my personal and early assistance to the Nabob Vizier for their retrieval.

From other letters, which have been since received from Lucknow upon the same subject, I understand that this was the expressed wish of the Nabob Vizier, his minister, and all the principal persons of his family and court; and I have great reason to believe, that as soon as the Nabob shall have received the notification lately transmitted to him of the last resolutions of the Board, he will declare the same wish in terms, and connect it with his acceptance of the engagement prescribed to him.

It is neither consistent with my interest or ease to resign the ordinary transactions of my station, and by accepting the detail of a single and inferior department, engage in a scene of difficulties, some of which derive their origin from natural causes, and may be insurmountable by human exertions; nor am I very anxious to hazard my reputation on the success of so doubtful a service; yet as the Board has been pleased to commit the affairs of that province in an especial manner to my charge, and have given me the most positive assurances of their support, to enable me to acquit myself of so weighty a responsibility, I conceive this to be a case which will not allow of my attending to any personal suggestion. My services are at all times, and in all cases, primarily due to the most important and most urgent calls of this government. To the importance and urgency of the present exigency are added the obligation of a special trust and engagement, and the pledge of the most powerful aid for my encouragement.

I there-

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I therefore make this early tender of my ſervices to proceed to Lucknow, whenever I ſhall receive an invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpoſe of regulating the Company's intereſts in that province, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like aſſiſtance for the regulation of his.

My reaſons for thus anticipating the call which I have ſuppoſed are many.

I have already premiſed, which I now repeat in more forcible terms, that I am morally aſſured of receiving ſuch a call from the Nabob Vizier; and I make no ſcruple of affirming, that I can implicitly rely on the deference which he has ever ſhewn to my advice, and on his confidence in my juſtice and good faith, for the moſt willing co-operation on his part in the meaſures which I ſhall recommend for his ſervice, and as prompt and ready a ſubmiſſion to the rights which I may excluſively aſſert on the behalf of the Company.

The accumulating diſtreſſes of that country require preventive no leſs than remedial applications. The adminiſtration of his government requires the vigorous exertion of the powers of our own to reſtore and confirm the authority which has been looſened from it. His revenue requires the ſuperintendency of officers acknowledging their dependence on their conſtitutional maſter, and poſſeſſed of credit and characters equal to the reſponſibility. The balance of the Company's debt, and its progreſſive growth, depend for their payment on the ſame proviſions; and the liquidation of our own current and bonded debts, together with the credit of our treaſury, equally depend on the early liquidation of that which is due to the Company from the province of Owd. The dearth which has already ſhewn itſelf in ſome ſevere effects, will require the ſame co-operative aid to remedy ſo much of this calamity as may proceed from artificial, grounded on natural cauſes.

The Sics, who have been for ſome time forming in large bodies, and have avowed their deſign on the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, require early preparations to meet and repel them; and I have cauſe to believe that the preſence of the executive member of this government, ſuppoſed to poſſeſs the command of all its powers and reſources, would contribute much to diſcourage the attempt, and ſuperſede the neceſſity of more ſubſtantial operations. Such are the objects of the propoſed meaſure, and the neceſſity of its early execution is involved in the terms of each, nor is it poſſible to ſtate them in others which ſhall exclude it. But to theſe I muſt add other conſiderations, derived from my own ſituation:—firſt, a reſpect

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respect due to the constitutional rights of the individual members of the Board, and something due to my own credit, which impel me to bring the question before the Board, while every member of it now present may have an opportunity of giving his opinion upon it, and thereby also to guard myself against the imputation of seeking the advantage of carrying it by my own casting vote. Secondly, the desire which I have to possess the official assistance of Mr. David Anderson, whose weak state of health, derived from a late dangerous illness, has induced him to resolve on a voyage to Europe for his recovery: on intimating to him the possibility of my being called upon this service, and the indispensable call which I should in this case have for his, he chearfully agreed to yield it to me, and to suspend the engagement of his passage until the latest period requiring it, that he might be at liberty to attend me.

I should be sorry to seem to depreciate the merit of others by an exclusive preference shewn to one; for I know many of the Company's servants, who are equal to any trusts that may reposed in them; many, who in talents and integrity are entitled to receive the most public testimony of my esteem and approbation; but I have been long in official habits with Mr. Anderson; I know him; his disposition and manner of thinking agree with my own; and, in the peculiar line in which I should wish to employ him, there is not another on whom I could so confidently rely. I do not think it reasonable to keep him longer in suspence, and on that consideration alone, were there no other, I would entreat the Board to bring this point to an instant decision.

I repeat, that I do not solicit the service which I have offered to undertake, but simply offer it, with the most firm determination to hazard every interest that is dear to me in the prosecution of it, if it shall be the option of the Board to assign it to me; and I shall expect, in that event, to be invested with the full powers of my office, that is to say, such as I have had especially committed to me on similar occasions.

If the Board shall not chuse to accept of my offer, I shall rest contented with the complete discharge of my duty in having both made it, and used my endeavours to render it effectual.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Secretary.

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Minutes of Mr. Stables and Mr. Wheler.

The following minutes were received on the 23d ult. from Mr. Wheler and Mr. Stables, and communicated to the Governor-general.

Mr. Stables. 21ſt January 1784.

I am ſorry that I cannot accept of the Governor-general's offer to proceed to Lucknow. In my opinion the executive member of government ought to remain at the preſidency, and moſt particularly at this time, when we are in daily expectation of receiving the news of new arrangements from home.

A true copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Mr. Wheler. 21ſt January 1784.

In giving my opinion on the very important queſtion brought forward in the Governor-general's minute of yeſterday, it is neceſſary for me to make a reference to what paſſed before upon the ſubject.

On the 31ſt December 1783, the Board reſolved to withdraw the reſidency from Lucknow, and to confirm the Governor-general's acceptance of the reſponſibility and charge of affairs there, as explained in the minute agreed to and delivered in by Mr. Macpherſon, Mr. Stables, and myſelf, on the ſame day.

Previous to the reſolution the Governor-general repreſented the neceſſity which he conceived there was for his repairing to Lucknow, for the purpoſe of accompliſhing thoſe plans which alone could place the Company's concerns in the Nabob's country in a more proſperous ſtate. Againſt the acceptance of this many difficulties occurred, and in conſequence it was, after much deliberation, mutually and unanimouſly agreed to decline the acceptance of the Governor-general's tender of his perſonal ſervices in the Nabob Vizier's country, and this part of the propoſal ended in converſation, without being entered on our recorded debates; however, in candour I muſt acknowledge, that no claim was preferred on the one hand to bring forward this queſtion at a future day, nor on the other was any attempt made to preclude it, ſhould the meaſure hereafter appear more ſtrongly neceſſary.

But I flattered myſelf that in ſo ſhort an interval as between the 31ſt December and 20th January, no motives more preſſing, or reaſons more urgent than thoſe which had already been brought in argument, would have occurred to prompt the Governor-general to the revival of

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of a queſtion of ſuch magnitude as that of his departure from the preſidency, at a time when his ſervices here are ſo eſſentially required, and I conſidered myſelf the more warranted in this hope, becauſe no advices can have arrived from Lucknow ſince the Nabob Vizier received the notification of the reſolution of the Board to accept the offer made by himſelf and his miniſter of giving the ſecurity of bankers of known credit and reſponſibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and of the current demands of the year. It was true, the Governor-general's viſit to Lucknow is ſaid to be the expreſſed wiſh of the Nabob Vizier, his miniſter, and all the principal perſons of his family and court, and that the ſame will probably be declared in terms, and be connected with the engagement preſcribed to him; if ſuch be the Nabob Vizier's intention, a very ſhort period of time will be ſufficient to enable the Board to receive his requiſition in form.

Great merit is certainly due to the Governor-general for his zealous tender of his ſervices on this occaſion, which, he ſays, are at all times and in all caſes primarily due to the moſt important and moſt urgent calls of this government; but in the preſent terms and circumſtances of the queſtion, I muſt beg leave to decline anticipating the neceſſity which may ariſe of accepting them in the way they are offered: for I think the preſence of the Governor-general at our Board ſhould never be diſpenſed with but on the moſt preſſing and moſt important occaſions; and I repeat, that I deem it at this particular juncture eſſentially requiſite.

But ſhould the Nabob Vizier, in his letters to this government, preſs the aſſiſtance of the Governor-general's abilities in forming new arrangements for the internal government of his country, and the aid of his perſonal and official influence to carry them into execution, and ſhould ſtate it as a meaſure abſolutely neceſſary to be adopted for the regulation of his finances, and the ſpeedy liquidation of his debt to the Company, connecting it alſo with his acceptance of the engagement preſcribed to him; and if the Governor-general ſhall be of opinion that his ſervices can be more effectual, and generally beneficial to the intereſts of the Company, by their being employed in that country, than in the arduous and important duties annexed to his ſtation here, I ſhall not ſhrink from the additional weight of labour and reſponſibility which will in that caſe devolve on me, but ſhall think myſelf acting up to the ſpirit of the minute delivered in by Mr. Macpherſon, Mr. Stables, and myſelf, in giving the Governor-general this opportunity of acquitting himſelf of the reſpon-

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responsibility he is thereby charged with in the affairs of the Nabob of Oude. This opinion I hope and trust will meet with the concurrence of the other members of the Board; and I venture to express a confidence in the hearty co-operation with me, during the Governor-general's absence, in discharging the important duties which belong to our government.

A true copy.

E. Hay,
Secretary.

Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal, dated the 7th February 1784.

Par. 21. Your honourable Court has already been made acquainted with the resolution which we thought it necessary to pass on the 31st of December, for withdrawing the residency from Lucknow, and accepting the offer made by his Excellency the Vizier and his minister, of the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due from his Excellency to the Company, and other current expences, the Governor-general being specially responsible for the propriety of the measure. Mr. Wombwell, our Accountant at Lucknow, having been directed to receive such security from the Vizier, has lately transmitted to us a copy of the engagement entered into by two bankers, named Lela Butchrauge, and Faquir Chund; in which they make themselves answerable for the sum of Lucknow Sicca rupees 1,03,84,420, being the balance due from his Excellency to the Company at the end of the last Fussilee year, as well as for the subsidy and other current demands of the present year, according to a statement adjusted by Mr. Bristow. Part is to be paid in the course of the present year 1191, and the remainder in the course of the next year 1192 Fussulee. A copy of the engagement attends you, a number in the packet.

22. The Governor-general having laid before us copies of a correspondence which passed between Mr. Wombwell and Mr. Bristow, by which it appears, that Mr. Bristow has hesitated to obey the order which directed his return to the presidency, in consequence of some doubts expressed to be primarily founded on the terms of that order, which he expresses to be "loose and indefinite," we have sent our peremptory commands to Mr. Bristow to leave Lucknow, and repair to the presidency immediately, directing, in like manner, the assistants of his office to do the same.

23. We

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23. We have the honour to tranſmit to you a number in this diſpatch, copy of a minute delivered by the Governor-general, on the 20th of laſt month; in which the Governor informs us of a letter he had received from his ſecretary, Major Palmer, at Lucknow, containing a very alarming repreſentation of the diſordered ſtate of the Vizier's dominions, and urging the neceſſity of his repairing to Lucknow for the purpoſe of giving his perſonal and early aſſiſtance to the Nabob Vizier for their retrieval: and that from other letters received from Lucknow upon the ſame ſubject, the Governor-general underſtands that this was the expreſſed wiſh of the Nabob Vizier, his miniſter, and all the principal perſons of his family and court; having alſo great reaſon to believe, that as ſoon as the Nabob ſhould have received the notification lately tranſmitted to him, of the laſt reſolutions of the Board, he would decline the ſame wiſh in terms, and connect it with his acceptance of the engagement preſcribed to him. The Governor-general has therefore made us an early tender of his ſervices, to proceed to Lucknow whenever he ſhall receive an invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpoſe of regulating the Company's intereſts in that province, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like aſſiſtance for the regulation of his.

24. For the other important reaſons which have induced the Governor-general to make this offer, we beg leave to refer you to his minute, which we deem well deſerving your attention. The minutes of the other members of the Board now at the preſidency, on this ſubject, are alſo encloſed numbers in this addreſs; and by theſe you will obſerve, that the Governor-general's tender of his ſervices to repair to Lucknow, has been accepted on the following conditions; viz. that the Nabob Vizier ſhall, in his letters to this government, preſs the aſſiſtance of the Governor-general's abilies in forming new arrangements for the internal management of his country, and the aid of his perſonal and official influence to carry them into execution, and ſtate it as a meaſure abſolutely neceſſary to be adopted for the regulation of his finances, and the ſpeedy liquidation of his debt to the Company, connecting it alſo with the acceptance of the engagement preſcribed to him; and that the Governor-general ſhall be of opinion, that his ſervices can be more effectual, and generally beneficial to the intereſts of the Company, by their being employed in that country, than in the arduous and important duties annexed to his ſtation at the preſidency.

Extract

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Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal; dated 16th February 1784.

Par. 10. We had the honour to inform you in our laſt advices, of a tender made on the 20th of laſt month, by the honourable the Governor-general, of his ſervices to proceed to Lucknow whenever he ſhould receive an expected invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpoſe of regulating the Company's intereſts in the province of Oude, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like aſſiſtance for the regulation of his. Our reſolution was alſo communicated to you on the Governor-general's offer.—A ſtrong letter from his Excellency, and his miniſter Hyder Beg Cawn, has been lately received, and ſubmitted to us by the Governor-general, who has renewed the offer before made to us.—The Governor's minutes on this ſubject, and the papers accompanying them, are tranſmitted to you numbers in the packet, together with the minutes of the other members of the Board now here, to which we beg leave particularly to refer you, and by which it will appear, that we have veſted in the Governor-general the powers and authorities which he has deſired, to enable him to effect the purpoſes of his viſit to his Excellency the Vizier's dominions.

14th February 1784.

The Governor-general having this inſtant received letters from the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſter Hyder Beg Khaun, tranſlations of which accompany this minute; the Governor-general, in compliance with the preſſing invitations contained in theſe letters, now renews the tender of his ſervices in acceptance thereof, in the terms and for the purpoſes expreſſed in his minute of the 20th January.

The Governor-general alſo, relying on the Board's acquieſcence in the foregoing propoſal, ſince in the event which has happened it has already been in fact agreed to, and wiſhing to preclude all intermediate delay, ſubmits to the Board, for their approval, drafts of his public credentials, and of orders to be iſſued to the civil and military officers ſtationed behind the province of Bahar.

Not willing on ſo ſhort a notice to require the members of the Board to give themſelves the trouble of an immediate and formal meeting for the purpoſe of diſcuſſing the buſineſs of the preceeding queſtions, nor the occaſion requiring it for the reaſon already mentioned, the Governor-general has directed the ſecretary to attend them with theſe papers, and requeſts that they will be

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be pleafed to deliver their opinions thereon in circulation.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Received February 14th 1784.

From the Vizier to the Honourable Governor General.

Ufual Introduction.

Your gracious letters, which you honoured me with from paternal kindnefs, have arrived. In what language can I exprefs the favours and obligations you have conferred upon me? this country, my family, and myfelf, are all yours. Such obligations have bound me firmly in gratitude. I before refted entirely on your pleafure, but am now with heart and life attached to it, and will in no meafure depart from it. From the favours conferred on me, your reputation will fpread throughout all Indoftan, for to the inhabitants of this country you have given new life.

My only defire now is a meeting with yourfelf: from the fame motive as you have already fhewn me fo many favours, I entreat you will travel this way, and confer profperity on my family and country, which are the fame as your own. Your prefence will be the caufe of encreafe of my reputation, regulation to my affairs, and fettlement of the country, to the mutual advantage of our Sircars, as whatever plans you may adopt will remain permanent, and be a fource of credit during our lives.

As I am now ardently employed in the direction of affairs, and the meafures for paying the Company's demands, I have no leifure, and am therefore excufable, otherwife I fhould come to vifit you. In the manner you have already favoured me, confer the obligation of coming here to complete my happinefs, as I am certain fuch regulations will proceed from it, as fhall not leave room for any one hereafter to find fault. I have performed the conditions fignified by you through Major Palmer, for the fatisfaction of the Company, which will be known to you from his letters.

Concludes as ufual.

A true Copy of the Tranflation.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

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Received February 14th 1784.

From Hyder Beg Khan to the Honourable Governor General.

Usual Introduction.

How shall I express the obligations you have conferred upon his Highness and his subjects in general, since human language is too weak? your fame will from them be spread throughout the world. His Highness is so obliged and grateful for your favours, as cannot be expressed; frequently saying, you have purchased him by generosity. This will be fully known to you from the letters of Major Palmer.

The only desire of his Highness now is, that you will, by coming here, bestow prosperity on his affairs. From your presence will spring stability to measures, and benefit of both Sirkars; as whatever you plan will remain firm for ever. I who am your servant, lifted from the dust by your hand, have received new life from the favours conferred upon his Highness, and regard paying my respects to your Excellency as necessary to my existence; but at this time your presence here is most advisable. The favours you have shewn can only be repaid by prayers for your prosperity. What was desired for the satisfaction of the Company has been performed, and shall be observed in future. Every point will be known to you from the letters of Major Palmer.

Concludes as Usual.

A true Copy of the Translation.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

Governor General's Credentials.

Whereas it has been resolved in Council, on the 31st December 1783, to withdraw the Residency at Lucknow, and to invest the Governor-general with a special and separate charge of the Company's affairs and interests in the dominions of the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah, on certain conditions therein expressed, which have been since fulfilled; and whereas the Board have agreed on the invitation of the Nabob Vizier, and on a tender made by the Governor-general of his services in the acceptance thereof, that the Governor-general shall proceed to Lucknow, for the purpose of assisting the Nabob Vizier in the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, and the regulation of his government; it is hereby resolved, That the Governor-general shall be and is invested with full power and authority to concert and adjust

just with the Nabob Vizier the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, of restoring and securing the peace, safety, and order of his government, and of promoting the improvement of his revenue, and to support the Nabob Vizier with the authority of this government, in as full and ample manner as we can empower him by an act of the parliament of Great Britain, or by any of the orders of the honourable the Court of Directors, and to take all such measures as he the Governor-general shall think necessary for the accomplishment of these ends: and for these purposes it is hereby agreed and resolved, that the Governor-general shall be and is invested with the full power and authority of this government (so far as we can legally delegate the same) over all the officers, civil and military, stationed or residing within the dominions of the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah, and the province of Benares; but restricted to the exercise thereof to the dominions of the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah and the province of Benares aforesaid, and to the purposes above recited.

Given in Fort William, under the seal of the honourable Company, and under the hands of the Governor-general and Council, this day of in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

14th February 1784.

The Governor General.

To obviate any misconstructions of the confidence with which I have long since mentioned my expectation, which is now arrived from the Nabob Vizier, I think it expedient to observe, that, independently of my intimate knowledge of the Nabob's general wish upon this subject, his particular desire of a visit from me at this time, and for the purposes of the actual occasion, has been repeatedly signified to me in many private letters from Lucknow, both from Major Palmer and others, long before I made the first tender of my services in accepting the invitation.

At the time that my letter, containing the notification of the resolution of the Board, passed on the 31st of December, arrived at Lucknow, the Nabob Vizier had quitted his capital, and was on an excursion of pleasure at a distance of an hundred and ten miles from it. By a paper of intelligence, delivered to me by his Vakeel Rajah Govindram, and in the possession of the sececretary, I am informed,

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formed, that such was his impatience to return, that he performed the journey in seven parrs, or 21 hours, in a Palanquin, and arrived at Lucknow on the 2d instant without attendants.

For further proofs of the little ground which existed for the use of any indirect means to influence the Nabob in soliciting my presence and assistance, I refer the Board to the accompanying letters, which I received the day before yesterday from Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell, neither intended most assuredly for public record, nor was it without hesitation that I was induced to insert that of Mr. Wombwell. I could not deny myself the advantage of so strong a testimony, both of the point in question, and of the utter want of foundation for the assertion so often repeated by Mr. Bristow, that the Nabob was himself indifferent to the transactions which formed the multiplied complaints against the Resident, and that the whole were the fabrication of his minister without the participation of his will or inclination.

(Signed) W. HASTINGS.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,

Secretary.

Letters from Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell to the Governor General.

(Copy.)

Lucknow, 2d February 1784.

My dear Sir,

The Vizier arrived here yesterday, after travelling a considerable part of his journey by post. Mr. Wombwell and I paid our respects to him this morning. After perusing your letters, presented to him by that gentleman, he entered into discourse upon the different subjects of them, and gave the strongest and most unequivocal proof how deeply he was penetrated with a sense of your goodness, and the important benefits which you have obtained for him.—He earnestly wishes to see you, to make his grateful acknowledgments in person, to request your personal assistance in completing the generous work which you have begun, by establishing the mutual interests and reputation of both governments upon the most solid foundations. To-morrow he will tell you so himself; and if his writing is so expressive and as forcible as his speech and action, you will be convinced that there is no circumstance in life can give him greater happiness than to see you at his capital, and to prove his gratitude by an implicit and chearful acquiescence in whatever measures you may recommend.

I am

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I am greatly concerned that the fine ſeaſon for travelling will be nearly over before you can ſet out. The abſence of the Vizier has cauſed an unlucky delay. I thought your viſit a point of too much delicacy and importance to be ſettled whilſt he was at a diſtance, as it would have been impoſſible for me to have known his real ſentiments upon it; and I was determined to decline the invitation, if it ſhould appear to be made only as a compliment.

I requeſt, my dear Sir, that you will give me the information of your departure, that nothing may be wanting, either here or upon the road, for your accommodation. The Vizier has not yet intimated to Mr. Briſtow his permiſſion to depart, being deſirous to avoid every appearance for his removal, and Mr. Briſtow not having yet given in his accounts.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My dear Sir,
Your moſt devoted and affectionate
humble Servant,
(Copy.) (Signed) W. PALMER.

Dear Sir,

The Nabob arrived laſt night; and this morning I had the honour of preſenting your letters to him. Major Palmer will acquaint you with the expreſſions of his gratitude. You were his friend, the brother of his father.

They were not loſt to me; for he acknowledged his obligations in tears.

Permit me to offer my congratulations to you on this happy event.

With the moſt ſincere reſpect,
I am, dear Sir,
Your very faithful and obedient ſervant,
(Signed) J. WOMBWELL.

The 2d February 1784,
Lucknow.

True Copies.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

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Mr. Hastings's Arrival in Oude.

READ the following letter from Mr. Briſtow:

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I this day received my audience of leave from his Highneſs the Nabob Vizier.

To anticipate calamity is an invidious and irkſome taſk; yet before I retire from the Court of Oude I am ſtrongly called upon by duty, and perhaps not ill qualified by experience, to ſuggeſt to the honourable Board the probable conſequences of my removal; it is the laſt important obligation of the truſt repoſed in me, and I ſhall acquit myſelf of it with fidelity.

Much as I lament the unproſperous iſſue of an enterprize, which in its ſucceſs would have been ſo honourable to me, my ſenſibility of it is unmixed with any painful conſciouſneſs. I have done my duty; and your applauſe, gentlemen, as it is the beſt teſtimony, is alſo the beſt reward of my laborious endeavours in the public ſervice.

Appointed to the arduous work of reformation, I found in Hyder Beg Cawn an antagoniſt of irreſiſtible ſtrength, over whom it was impoſſible I ſhould ſingly prevail; who in the extenſive influence derived from his wealth, in the univerſal terror inſpired by his authority, in the ſlaviſh ſubſerviency and more than puerile weakneſs of the prince his maſter, poſſeſſed a power of reſiſtance which I long ſince foreſaw, and long ſince foretold, would render equally vain the continued exerciſe of all my firmneſs, and every exertion of my underſtanding.

To reſtore the ſovereign to his dignity, to curb the ambition of his miniſter, to correct the diſorders and abuſes of his government, were the ſalutary and important objects of my deſignation at the court of Oude. Their accompliſhment would have eſtabliſhed the Engliſh influence over theſe once rich and flouriſhing provinces on a baſis of more ſtability than any we had yet owned, and intereſt in the hearts of the people, acquired and confirmed through the bleſſings they derived from us.

The triumphant oppoſition of Hyder Beg Cawn has defeated a purpoſe ſo full of wiſdom and humanity, but the attempt, I am well aſſured, has left an indeliable impreſſion of fear and hatred upon his mind. Delivered at laſt from the hateful preſence of your repreſentative, and inveſted with the virtual ſovereignty of the Vizier's domi-

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dominions, all the activity, all the malevolence of his heart and underſtanding, will be called forth and exerted, to confirm his independance, and to gratify his revenge.

In the uniform experience of years, in the conſiſtent iniquity and miſmanagement of the miniſter, we find an elaborate inſtruction directing us with unerring certainty to the future fate of Oude, and our friends.

It is moſt foreign from my intention to arraign the wiſdom, or to diſpute the decrees of government; but I obey the dictates of truth and duty in declaring, that I cannot imagine a conjuncture of more imminent and apparent danger to the intereſt of my employers, or to the honour of my country; the firſt I conſider as inſeparably connected with the proſperity of Oude; the laſt will receive a mortal wound, ſhould thoſe be abandoned by us, who in their ſervices and attachment have a ſacred claim to our protection. From the exerciſe of deſpotic authority by ſuch a character as the miniſter, what indeed is to be hoped but the moſt heinous abuſe of it? From a reliance on the clemency of Hyder Beg Cawn, what milder doom, than death or confiſcation? ſuffer me, gentlemen, in the affirmance of the melancholy propriety of theſe reflections, to refer to your own opinions, to your own expreſſive language. I tranſcribe them from the inſtructions I received through the honourable the Governor-general, ſhortly after my appointment; delineating the former conduct of the miniſter with a truth and deciſion that will not be diſputed, they furniſh the moſt undeniable evidence of the peril of confiding in him, and render an appeal equally ſuperfluous and impertinent: I ſhall therefore paſs in ſilence over a thouſand ſuperadded examples, all ſtrongly characteriſtic of the principles and policy of Hyder Beg Cawn, which have occurred during the interval that has ſince elapſed, and which, like thoſe I am now about to lay before you, conſtitute a perpetual record of his contempt for your authority, of his inſolence, ambition, and rapacity.

" Immediately on your arrival, ſound the diſpoſition of Hyder Beg Cawn; his conduct has for ſome time paſt been highly reproachable. Till within theſe three months, when Mr. Johnſon aſſumed a large portion of his authority, he poſſeſſed, without controul, both the unparticipated and entire adminiſtration, with all the powers annexed to that government; the Nabob himſelf being, as he ever muſt be in the hands of ſome perſon, a mere cypher in his, and the ſanction by which he exerciſed his authority; yet he has dared both to uſe the Nabob's name, and even his ſeal, affixed to letters, either dictated

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to the Nabob, or written from him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and such as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's influence and interest, and even to make him assume a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own and earnest solicitations; such as the resumption of the Jaghires, and the seizure of his father's treasures, which had been so long suffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagement exacted from me at Chunar. On every occasion of this kind the late Resident has been the faithful echo and support of the minister's pretensions. I must therefore have recourse to you for the introduction of a new system in that government." —Again, "It may be adviseable to try him (the minister) by the mode of conciliation in your first conversation with him; at the same time that it will be necessary to declare to him, in the plainest terms, the footing and conditions on which he shall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of dismission, and a scrutiny into his past conduct, if he refuses it. In the first place, I will not receive from the Nabob, as his, letters dictated by the spirit of opposition, but shall consider every such attempt as the minister's, and as an insult on our government. In the second place, I shall expect that nothing is done in his official character, but with your knowledge and participation."—Again, speaking of Almass Ally Cawn, "It is very extraordinary that his defection, his retreat to the frontier, the subsequent negociations which passed between him and the Nabob, the engagements concluded between them, which resemble more a treaty between equal states, than a transaction between a sovereign and his vassal, have all passed without the least communication or report of them made to me by the Resident, or his assistant, or the minister; and in a letter which I have lately received from the Nabob, the minister has had the presumption to make the Nabob declare the whole to be false, and without foundation; and to affirm that every part of his dominions enjoys the most perfect peace and tranquillity. Upon this subject the behaviour of the minister is so reprehensible, that I think it incumbent upon me to let him know my sentiments of it. It will at least shew him how thin the veil is by which he covers his own acts; and that such artifices will only tend to make them the more criminal, from the falsehood and duplicity with which they are associated. As for Almass Ally Cawn himself, the policy which has been

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been observed towards him has been scandalously derogatory from the Nabob's dignity and interests, and hurtful to the representation of our government, so far as it is connected, or the world will think it connected, with it." —Lastly, "The Nabob has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the indignity which he suffers in his authority, by the usurpation of the Company's Resident; and as repeatedly demanded, that whenever the Company's balance shall be completely discharged he may be freed from this vexation; that he may be permitted to pay the subsidy in ready money; and that the assignments which have been granted to satisfy that demand may be restored to him. I confess that I did myself give encouragement to this proposition, knowing at the same time the quarter from whence it came, I mean from Hyder Beg Cawn; and, willing to exonerate this government from the trouble and responsibility, and the Company from the disgrace of whatever might attend the administration of the Nabob's government, I thought too that it presented a sure prospect of the regular payment of the current demands, by the penalty which would attend the failure, in the resumption of the former system of assignments, and in the personal claims which it would bring on the minister. But his misconduct has since manifested itself in so many particular instances, besides the universal disorder of the country, and this is so alarming in its effects to our government, that I shall hesitate, until I have the surest and most satisfactory grounds to recommend an acquiescence in such a measure. At present, the plea on which it is grounded is probably yet at some distance; for whilst I am writing these instructions, fresh circumstances occur to my knowledge, which make me much suspect the real payment of the sums brought to the Nabob's credit for the last year's balance. It may not, however, be amiss to talk with the minister on this subject, to let him know that it is well understood to be a demand for substituting his authority in the place of the Company's, and to invest him with the sovereignty of the Nabob's dominions; to ask him, whether he shall in such case expect the Company's protection? and if he does, by what claim of right? and whether, in the event of his involving our government in a new scene of hostilities by those which his mal-administration may produce, whether internally or by invasion in that country, he shall think himself in justice exempt from the personal vengeance which we may be disposed to exact from him? At all events, the proposition must be discouraged till a safer season for its acceptance;

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ceptance; but the abfolute rejection of it eluded with the Nabob, if he fhall himfelf renew it."

I have the honour, &c.

Lucknow, (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.
8th Febry. 1784.

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United East India Company.

Lucknow, 30th April 1784.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE judged it incumbent on me to make trial of every practicable chance of conveying to you the earlieft intelligence of my arrival at the place from which this letter is dated, and of the firft effects produced by the accommodation which took place by the refolution of the Governor-general and council, paffed on the 31ft of December laft, and already notified to you by the fucceffive difpatches of your fhips. I fhall begin the thread of my report from that date. I foon after found that the ftate of this country was fo difordered in its revenue and adminiftration, and the credit and influence of the Nabob himfelf fo much fhaken by the effects of the late ufurpation of his authority, and the conteft which attended it, as to require the acceffion of an extraneous aid to reftore the powers and conftitution of his government; and I was ftrongly and repeatedly urged to repair hither in perfon for that purpofe.

Thefe inftances, though declared to be conformable to the wifhes of the Nabob Vizier, his family and minifters, having been privately conveyed to me, I reprefented them as fuch to the Board on the 20th of January; and offered my fervices to go to Lucknow whenever the Nabob Vizier fhould require it, which I knew, from undoubted authority, he would, with his anfwer to the notification formally made to him of the refolution of the 31ft of December.

My reafons for thus anticipating the occafion were many—the diftracted ftate of the affairs, which every fufpenfion of a day would aggravate; the feafon of the collections requiring the application of early exertions for their fecurity; and my own infirm ftate of health, which was not equal to fuftain fo long a journey, if protracted to the commencement of the hot winds.

My offer was accepted, by a conditional declaration on the part of Mr. Wheler, and I made inftant preparations for the journey.

On the 14th of February the Nabob's invitation arrived. I repeated my propofal; the fame authority decided its acceptance;

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acceptance; and on the 17th I took my leave of the Board, and departed from Calcutta with a ſevere indiſpoſition, which had ſeized me ſome time preceding, then hanging on me. Happily the change of air effected my ſpeedy cure; and on the 27th ultimo I arrived at this place, in a ſtate of health ſo confirmed, as to promiſe an unremitted attention to the very important objects of my commiſſion.

On my way, I had the alarming perſpective of a ſoil ſo compleatly exhauſted of its natural moiſture by the failure of one entire ſeaſon of the periodical rains, that except the fields of grain that had been kept in vegetation by the uncommon labour of the huſbandman, and were ſtill cloathed with a luxuriant produce, or that retained the ſtubble of the recent harveſt, the plains exhibited an appearance of barrenneſs ſo dreary, that even the roots of its former herbage no longer exiſted, and the deep ravines and beds of rivers, which I paſſed, threw up clouds of duſt from their channels. Theſe are not circumſtances of trivial obſervation, nor are they confined to the lands of theſe provinces. Every region of Hindoſtan has felt the ſame angry viſitation, and another year of equal drought (which is not to be expected in the courſe of natural events) would put it out of the reach of human wiſdom to prevent or retrieve the dreadful calamity which muſt attend it.

Yet ſuch is my reliance on the gratitude and unbounded confidence of the Nabob and his miniſters, that I dare promiſe, even at this immature period, under every circumſtance but the dreadful one which I have above ſuppoſed, and which I have ſtated as improbable, a ſucceſsful progreſs and termination of the meaſures which I have begun, equal to any expectations which may have been formed of it, however ſanguine, if I am not counteracted, and my operations impeded, by orders which I may not reſiſt, and am allowed to remain to the time deſtined for their perfection—nor ſhall it be a common obſtruction which ſhall reſtrain me; for I poſſeſs ſuch inherent advantages as, I truſt, will prove ſuperior to every ſpecies of oppoſition, but the laſt extremity of it. Indeed, if ſuch ſprings as give the common movements to popular opinion could influence my proceedings, I have already experienced ſuch in two inſtances, one of which I believe to have had the ſpecial ſervice in which I am engaged for its object, and the other the general ruin of my authority.

I allude, firſt, to a report fabricated at Fort St. George, of the arrival of a ſhip of war at Bombay, with the authentic intelligence of my diſmiſſion with diſgrace from my office, which I received at the inſtant that I was ſetting my

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my foot on the ſhore at Nuddeah, for the commencement of my journey; and ſecondly, to a paper tranſmitted to me by a reſpected authority from Calcutta, containing ſtrictures on my former deputation, ſaid to be a part of a report of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, which unhappily apply to every purpoſe of this, and which declare (with horror I repeat it) a right inveſted in the Commander in Chief of the army to oppoſe the power delegated by the government itſelf to its firſt executive member, and to aſſert that right by an appeal to the army for its ultimate deciſion upon it. The words of the report, if it be ſuch, to which I allude, are theſe:

"By theſe inſtructions it appears, that the Governor-" general was poſitively reſtrained from the exercife of "any military power whatſoever beyond the garriſon and "fortreſs of Fort William; ſo that the delegation and "exerciſe of all military power and authority, beyond "the limits ſo deſcribed, was a direct and poſitive diſ-" obedience of the orders of the Court of Directors.

"Diſobedience of orders on a point ſo delicate and "important as that of wreſting the military command "from the official military officer, who was inveſted with "that authority by the orders of the Directors, might "have been productive of conſequences extremely pre-" judicial to the ſervice: if the Commander in Chief had "aſſerted the right inveſted in himſelf, a contention for "executive power might have been the conſequence; "and the army, which in India is ſo peculiarly conſti-" tuted as to require not only exact diſcipline, but the "moſt perfect ſubordination, in order to enſure obedi-" ence, muſt have ultimately decided where that obedience "was due."

I dare not examine a doctrine affirmed to be of ſo ſacred an authority; yet I may humbly ſuggeſt that it never was, nor never could have been intended to be applied to the actual commander in chief, whoſe command was originally conſtituted by the Governor-general and Council themſelves, and therefore could not be rendered ſuperior to, and independent of, the powers veſted in the Governor-general and Council by an act of parliament paſſed before its exiſtence, nor included in any inſtructions of the Court of Directors, alſo framed at a more ancient period, if even at a later; and a ſenſe of national duty ſuperior to every conſideration of perſonal ſafety, or the reference which is due to high office, impels me to denounce, and to date the fall of the Britiſh empire in India from the inſtant that it ſhall be decidedly declared or underſtood that any commander in chief of the army, be his title or rank what it will, is, or may be, by any conſtructive power,

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power, independant of the government under which the wisdom of parliament hath hitherto placed the army serving in these provinces, and every member of it, in an implicit and absolute subjection to its authority.

God forbid that any future Pizarros and Almagros should disgrace the annals of your dominion, or mark the traces of its decline with the blood of your servants and soldiers—but the contest will probably be of short duration; and happy will it be for the interests of humanity, if such shall be the issue, though dreadful to our own, whatever period of time may close it!

Let me add, nor let my words be uttered in vain, that whenever the fatal blow shall be struck, or from whatever hand it shall proceed, its effect will be not a gradual decay, but an instantaneous ruin; for your existence hangs on the thread of opinion, which the touch of chance may break; and even that source, which ought to flow with the principles of its duration, will, if productive of the same deleterious streams which have been lately seen to issue from it, prove the cause of its dissolution.

I am not myself apprehensive of any evil consequence of the partial and limited command which I possess over your army, in its tendency to provoke a competition; for in the first place, I will never put it to the issue of a trial; and in the second, were the Board to permit the Commander in Chief to come into this quarter, which is not likely, I confidently hope that before he could arrive, this province will have been so regulated as not to require any foreign aid for its internal protection, nor of course any exercise of the powers which I possess, and which he might deem himself warranted to resist.

I proceed to report the effects which have been produced to this time from the late accommodation, and the objects to which I look for the final issue of it.

Before my departure from Calcutta, I applied through a private channel to the acting minister to advance an immediate supply of money to your Paymaster-general at Lucknow for the subsistence of the troops stationed in these provinces, who were then many months in arrears, and suffered much additional distress from the scarcity and dearness of grain. He instantly raised the sum of ten lacks of rupees, which proved a critical and effectual relief. Since my arrival he has made other payments to a considerable amount. These are particularized in the enclosed account*, No. 1, in which I have included, for your

* *The accounts alluded to in this and the next paragraph were, in the hurry of the Governor's departure from Lucknow, mislai...,*

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your early information, all the payments made in liquidation of the honourable Company's debt in the courſe of the preſent Fuſſulee year, to which all accounts of the revenue are by old cuſtom adjuſted, and commences on the 11th of September, to the preſent time.

To this I have joined another account, No. 2, ſtating the probable claims of the Company upon the Nabob Vizier, from the beginning of the preſent to the end of the next Fuſſulee year, or to the 10th September 1785.

On both theſe accounts I ſhall offer a few neceſſary remarks.—Firſt on No. 1. The 1ſt ſum of 16 lacks of rupees, ſtated as the account of Mr. Briſtow's receipts, is taken from his own account in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Wombwell, the Accomptant for this ſtation, but differs materially from that which has been drawn by the Nabob's officers; and I referred it to the Board for adjuſtment with Mr. Briſtow, who alone can explain the difference.

The ſecond article is the regular produce of the current revenue.—I was early careful to guard the miniſter againſt the uſe of violent meaſures, to anticipate the period of collection for the purpoſe of giving an oſtenſible credit to the preſent ſyſtem, by ſwelling the amount of the payments made in conſequence of it; although the exigencies of your ſtate induced me to preſs him to contribute what he could for your relief, without adding to the diſtreſſes of his own, for the country will not bear it.

The 3d article was obtained by my own ſuggeſtion from Almaſs Ally Cawn, who complied cheerfully and without heſitation, conſidering it as an evidence ſeaſonably offered for the general refutation of the charges of perfidy and diſloyalty, which have been ſo laboriouſly urged againſt him, and carried at one time to an exceſs which had nearly driven him to abandon the country for the preſervation of his life and honour, and thus to give a colour to the charges themſelves.

It will ſcarce merit your attention to be informed that I have inveſted a part of this ſupply in bills of exchange payable to the Governor-general and Council in Calcutta, to the amount of 5 lacks of Calcutta Siccas, but as it is connected with an arrangement which may prove of future advantage to your intereſts in the reduction of the Hoondyan, or exchange, from 16 per cent. to 5½, at which it is my determination to fix it.

miſlaid, and no copies of them are to be procured. It is hoped, however, that this accident will be excuſed, as the ſtatements here alluded to have been comprehended in accounts of later date.

I have

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I have recommended to the Board to appropriate the whole of this article as a fund for the payment of the interest of your bonds, which had suffered something in its credit and current value from the suspension of the payment of interest some months before I left Calcutta.

The last article is the balance of the sum due from Fyze Oola Cawn, by a treaty made between him and the Nabob Vizier, through the agency of Major Palmer, on the 15th February 1783. Two lacks of this amount are now in regular course of payment, the remaining three are not due by stipulation till the next season, called Kherief, which is a period included between the middle of September and the middle of February. Some days after my arrival, I intimated to his Vackeel my wish to have both payments immediately concluded; and his master gave immediate orders for it.

To this instance of respect to your government he has added another, in the deputation of his son to Lucknow, to confirm the assurance of his attachment to the Company and British nation.

What further sums may be realized in the course of this year, of which the productive part is already past, I cannot say; but it is my hope that a considerable part of the Nabob's debt will be liquidated, and the discharge of the remaining ensued by the engagements of creditable bankers, so that it may be wholly cleared within the course of the ensuing year.

The account, No. 2, is an estimate formed on the actual expence, but will be considerably reduced if my future prospects and objects shall be answerable to my present expectations: to them I proceed.

1st. My first wish is to realize the amount of your demand on the Nabob of Owde, to the end of the next Fussulee year, and to obtain ample securities for it before I depart from hence.

2. My next care will be to induce the Nabob's ministers to appoint bodies of regular troops, for the support of his collections, and the internal defence of his country. This will preclude the necessity of calling for the aid of our troops, and I hope may prove the means of releasing him from the extraordinary and undefined subsidy, which he now pays for the great detachment employed under the command of Colonel Sir John Cumming, in Rohilcund, and the regiments which have been occasionally demanded and remain scattered over other parts of his dominions, and of confining our defence, and the Nabob Vizier's payments, to the brigade stationed at Cawnpore, and to the subsidy fixed by the treaty for its expence.

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3dly. My laſt and ultimate hope is, that when theſe objects are attained, your wiſdom will put a final period to the ruinous and diſreputable ſyſtem of interference, whether avowed or ſecret, in the affairs of the Nabob of Owde, and withdraw for ever the influence by which it was maintained.

This country has no inlets of trade by which it can ſupply the iſſues which are made from it; for, excepting the factory at Tonda, which ſubſiſts by a contract making part of your inveſtment, and the produce of opium and ſalt-petre, which is not conſiderable, I do not know any other article of commerce from which it could derive any returns; therefore every rupee which is drawn from its circulation into your treaſury will accelerate the period at which its ability muſt ceaſe to pay even the ſtipulated ſubſidy. By the continuance of this fund, you maintain an acceſſion of more than one half to the military eſtabliſhment required for the defence of your dominions, without any charge on your own income, and you oppoſe a wide and powerful frontier to your eventual enemies.

That force will continue to be an effectual ſafeguard to the country, which will ſuffer nothing by its maintenance, becauſe the ſpecie thus applied will of courſe flow back into its circulation; and it is a tribute which it ought gladly to pay, for its whole wealth would not in any other way yield an adequate mode of protection.

Few are the advocates of the national intereſts, and their voice will be faintly heard amid the numerous and loud exclamations of private rapacity; but I humbly aſſume to rank myſelf with the former, and to aſſure you that if you ſeek for a permanent and profitable ſyſtem of connection with this country, you muſt confine your claims upon it to the line which I have recommended; if you tranſgreſs it you may extend the diſtribution of patronage, and add, by the fortune of individuals, to the nominal riches of Great Britain; but your own intereſt will ſuffer by it, and the ruin of a great and once-flouriſhing nation will be recorded as the work of your adminiſtration, with an everlaſting reproach on the Britiſh name.

To this reaſoning I ſhall join the obligations of juſtice and good faith, which cut off every pretext for your exerciſing any power or authority in this country, while the ſovereign of it fulfils the engagements which have been contracted with you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

honourable Sirs,

yours, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

MR.

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Mr. Hastings's Settlement of Oude in 1784.

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United East India Company.

Benares, 1st October 1784.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE the honour to send you a duplicate of my last address, and a copy of a letter to the Council, dated the 20th of September last, containing the report of my proceeding, and of the state of your claims on the Nabob Vizier to that period, being within three days of the close of the Fusselee year: this is so full as to render any further information on that subject unnecessary. The Nabob Vizier is so sensible of the just and disinterested conduct which I have observed towards him, and possesses, if I may credit appearances amounting to the strongest evidence of which such a conclusion is capable, so entire a confidence in my intentions respecting his concerns with the Company, that I have on my part an equal reliance on his steady support of the arrangements which have been formed under my inspection, both for the administration of his revenue, and the discharge of his debt to the honourable Company depending on it. He has given me the firmest assurances of this, and I have every reason to expect that the influence of the most respectable persons of his family will be employed to counteract every other which may tend to warp him from it. I am sorry to say, that such an assistance was wanting; as the Nabob, tho' most gentle in his manners, and endowed with an understanding much above the common level, has been unfortunately bred up to habits that draw his attention too much from the care of his own affairs, and often subject him to the guidance of insidious and unworthy confidants. This is one motive of my intention of making a longer stay at Benares than is necessary for the settlement of this Zemindary, which is already nearly concluded, that I may be at hand to counteract any attempt to defeat the effect of my proceedings at Lucknow: but I believe that the precaution, though dictated by prudence, will prove unnecessary.

My only remaining fear is, that the members of the Council, seeing affairs through a different medium from that through which I view them, may be disposed, if not to counteract the system which I have formed, to withhold from it their countenance and active support. While I myself remain, it will be sufficient if they permit it to operate without interruption; and I almost hope that in

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in the event of a new adminiſtration of your affairs, which ſhall confine itſelf to the ſame forbearance, and manifeſt no ſymptoms of intended interference, the objects of my arrangements will be effectually attained; for I leave them in the charge of agents whoſe intereſts, ambition, and every proſpect of life, are interwoven with their ſucceſs, and the hand of Heaven has viſibly bleſſed the ſoil with every elementary ſource of progreſſive vegetation. But if a different policy ſhall be adopted; if new agents are ſent into the country, and armed with authority for the purpoſes of vengeance and corruption, for to no other will they be applied; if new demands are raiſed on the Nabob Vizier, and accounts overcharged on one ſide, with a wide latitude taken on the other, to ſwell his debt beyond the means of payment; if political dangers are portended, to ground on them the pleas for burthening his country with unneceſſary defences and enormous ſubſidies; or if, even abſtaining from direct encroachment on the Nabob's rights, your government ſhall ſhew but a degree of perſonal kindneſs to the partizans of the late uſurpation, or by any conſtructive indication of partiality and diſaffection furniſh grounds for the expectation of an approaching change of ſyſtem;—I am ſorry to ſay, that all my labours will prove abortive; for the ſlighteſt cauſes will be ſufficient to deject minds ſore with the remembrance of paſt conflicts, and to elevate thoſe whoſe only dependance is placed in the renewal of the confuſion which I have laboured with ſuch zeal to eradicate, and will of courſe debilitate the authority which can alone enſure future ſucceſs. I almoſt fear that this denunciation of effects, from cauſes ſo incompetent as they will appear to thoſe who have not had the experience which I have had of the quick ſenſibility which influences the habits of men placed in a ſtate of polity ſo looſe, and ſubject to the continual variations of capricious and deſpotic authority, will be deemed overcharged, or perhaps void of foundation; nor, if they ſhould come to paſs, will it be eaſy to trace them with any poſitive evidence to their connection; yet it is my duty to apprize you of what I apprehend, on the grounds which I deem of abſolute certainty, may come to paſs, and I rely on your candour for a fair interpretation of my intention.

It is not quite foreign from this doctrine, as it will be highly acceptable to your honourable Court to be informed, that during my reſidence (and I may take the date further back, to the expectation of it at Lucknow) the moſt perfect tranquillity prevailed, and it ſtill ſubſiſts in every part of the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, a circumſtance unexampled in the annals of that govern-

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ment, either in any former period, or during that in which our influence has been blended with its own conſtitution; and this I attribute excluſively to the prevalency of opinion, or, to apply the general maxim, to the univerſal conviction of a power and a diſpoſition actually exiſting, the one equal to the ſuppreſſion of any movement of ſedition, and the other determined to the puniſhment of it: nor has my time been unprofitably beſtowed, even in the long interval in which I was obliged to wait for the firſt appearance of the rainy ſeaſon, before I could ſee the beginning of the new ſettlement. It afforded leiſure for the conſtitutional adminiſtration of the country to recover its authority; it impreſſed the minds of all men, that the government which I repreſented was determined to render it permanent; and it enabled me to eſtabliſh my own influence and aſcendant over the minds of the Nabob, his miniſters, and his people, on the grounds of their confidence in me. This was an eaſy line, for it required nothing to be done, nothing but forbearance: I daily conferred with the miniſters, I received their reports, I gave my advice; but I left every thing wholly to their management. I aſſumed no appearance of command, I exerciſed none, not even in private; I iſſued not a ſingle warrant, nor ſuffered any individual of my dependants to uſe my name, even in the common Bazar, with any privilege diſtinct from the rights of any other inhabitant. The Nabob met me on the border of his territory, our troops and baggage were intermixed on the road, and our camps often joined: I and my people, who were numerous, with a large ſociety of Engliſh gentlemen, which was unavoidable, lived in the ſame city five months, and of that time within the ſame common encloſure of the Nabob's palace; nor in all that time did a ſingle accident happen from ſuch a mixture of ſociety to diſturb its peace, or to create miſunderſtanding between either the principals or parties of either, but they continued united with the ſame harmony that exiſts between the members of a private family: nor, whether in public or private, though occaſions of great delicacy often occurred, did a word ever paſs in converſation between the Nabob and myſelf inconſiſtent with the ſtricteſt amity and mutual good humour. I hope this will not have the air of ſelf-commendation.—My behaviour was regulated by a preconcerted policy, the Nabob's by a natural benevolence and pliancy of temper, joined to perſuaſion that I merited more that an ordinary return of kindneſs from him, which left my part very eaſy, and will, I truſt, ſtill continue to operate for the common benefit of his intereſt, and yours, whatever may be my lot; for I have promiſed that

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that I will not abandon him to the chance of another mode of relation, and moſt confidently given him aſſurances of your ratification and confirmation of that which I have eſtabliſhed between his government and the Company.

I hope I ſhall be pardoned for repeating a remark, which I have already made in my letter to the Council (for it ought to be known and remembered) that I have provided for the complete diſcharge, in one year, of a debt contracted by the accumulation of many, and from a country whoſe reſources have been waſted and diſſipated by three ſucceſſive years of drought, and one of anarchy.

The recovery of ſo large a part of your property will alſo afford a ſeaſonable and ſubſtantial relief to the neceſſities of your government, and enable it, for ſuch is my confidential hope, to begin upon the reduction of your debt at intereſt before the concluſion of this year, I mean the year of our own computation.

Whatever may be the event of this tranſaction, I cannot conclude the report of it without teſtifying my acknowledgment of the very uſeful aſſiſtance which I have received from the official ſkill and abilities of Mr. David Anderſon. His reputation, which has been eſtabliſhed on the merits of much more important ſervices, will receive little addition from this tribute paid to it; yet the circumſtances under which they were yielded on this occaſion would not allow me to ſuppreſs it, as he had formed the reſolution of reſigning the ſervice for the recovery of a very declining health, and had actually beſpoke his paſſage on one of your homeward-bound ſhips, when his friendſhip and public zeal induced him to remain, at my ſolicitation, and to accompany me on this deputation. As I have occaſionally mentioned the number of gentlemen which compoſed my family, I have a pride and pleaſure in adding, that they all contributed, by the correctneſs of their manners, and conciliating behaviour, to maintain that familiar and cordial intercourſe which I have already deſcribed to have ſubſiſted between the Nabob and myſelf, and to leave a laſting and favourable impreſſion of the Britiſh character with his ſubjects.

For the reſt I beg leave to refer to my letter to the Board; and am, with the moſt reſpectful and dutiful attachment,

Honourable Sirs,
your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

After Mr. Hastings's Return to Oude in 1785.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 13th January 1785.

THE following minute having been written some time since, and communicated privately to the members of the Board, the Governor-general desires that it may be entered on the minutes of the 4th instant, as well as on these, that being the day on which it underwent their inspection.

Agreed to, and ordered that the secretary do enter the same accordingly.

The Governor-general. 4th January 1785.

The period is now arrived in which I must either verify the declaration which I have made and repeated to the Court of Directors, of my intention to relinquish the service, or suspend the execution of it, if compelled to it on the grounds of superior obligation. These I shall now state, and submit my destiny to the justice and generosity of my colleagues in the administration. In making this appeal, I should be sorry to have it ascribed to any distrust in the issue, having evinced the contrary by making the declaration to which I have above alluded, without any such reserve or qualification, but I do it in performance of a solemn engagement, and with a conviction, that the security of a valuable portion of the Company's immediate and pecuniary interests indispensably require it.

The Board will permit me to remind them, that on the 31st December 1783, they passed an unanimous resolution, agreeing and declaring, that "the offer made by the "Nabob Vizier, and his minister, to give the security "of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the "payment of the balance due to the Company, and for "the current demands of that year, should be accepted, "with the condition annexed, of the recall of Mr. "Bristow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-general con-"senting to be specially answerable for the propriety of "the measure;" and that in consequence of the Board's having agreed that the Governor-general should proceed to Lucknow, for the purpose of assisting the Nabob Vizier in the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, and the regulation of his government, they, on the 17th February last, resolved, "That the Gover-"nor-general should be, and he was thereby invested "with full power and authority to concert and adjust,

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"with the Nabob Vizier, the means of discharging his "engagements to the Company; of restoring and se"curing the peace, safety, and order of his government; "and of promoting the improvement of his revenue; "and to support the Nabob Vizier with the authority of "this government, in as full and ample manner as the "Board could empower him by any act of parliament of "Great Britain, or by any of the orders of the honour"able Court of Directors; and to take all such measures "as he should think necessary for the accomplishment of "these ends."

I undertook the service at a time, and under circumstances, which to a mind liable to despond, would have suggested insurmountable difficulties: these I have minutely stated in my correspondence with the Board; and my late report of the 20th September states in what manner I have executed the trust which I had undertaken.

The engagements which I have obtained from the Nabob Vizier cease with the close of the next Fussile year, or in September next, but his means of fulfilling them depend upon the uncharged and unmolested subsistance of many internal arrangements, which are mutually connected in a series of five years from their formation, and *that* on the absolute forbearance of this government, from all present interference in his authority, and especially in the controul and administration of his revenues.

When I was on the eve of parting from him, I deemed it consistent with the sincerity of my own character, and necessary to prevent the consequences of too abrupt an information, whenever he might receive it, of the apparent deprivation of my support, to acquaint him with the probable approach of my removal from the service, and at the same time I promised him that I would on no account make it my own act, without previously obtaining from the Board their promise of an entire and punctual adherence to the engagements which I had made with him on my own part individually, and on the behalf of the Board, in virtue of their existing engagements with me, which are contained in the resolution to which I have appealed in the introduction of this minute. The same assurance I gave also to his ministers. I soon after departed, leaving my secretary, Major Palmer, as my personal representative and agent with the Nabob Vizier, both for the encouragement of the Nabob and his ministers, and for the means of urging them to the faithful discharge of their stipulated payments, and Mr. Wombwell, the proper officer, in charge of the receipts.

In conformity to the above engagements, I now make it my earnest request to the Board, that they will be pleased

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pleaſed to record their reſolution to abide by the arrangements which I have made, and to notify the ſame for the ſatisfaction and aſſurance of the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſters, by an official letter to the Nabob Vizier from my eventual ſucceſſor, with a promiſe that no deviation ſhall be made from the ſaid arrangements, nor any perſon deputed to reſide at his court, but at his own ſpontaneous inclination, or any authority exerciſed within the limits of his dominion, by the appointment or permiſſion of the Board, except ſuch as ſhall be required by the Nabob himſelf, from the military officers ſtationed for his defence, and the protection of his country, until the concluſion of the preſent Fuſſulie year, or until the orders of the Court of Directors ſhall be received, in conſequence of the references which have been made to them, if ſuch orders ſhall either enjoin or authorize a different conduct.

I preſume that this requiſition is conſonant with the ſtrictneſs of legal propriety, as the firſt delegation of the truſt made to me in December laſt extends in its full force, as a reciprocal obligation, to the period which I have preſcribed; and as the act of a majority of the Board, which followed it from its legal obligation, on the whole neceſſarily includes and involves every engagement contracted under it and conformable to it, with the ſame force of an equal and permanent obligation.

Before I conclude, I deſire to obviate every poſſible miſconception of my object in the requiſition which I have made. I do not deſire the Board, nor the members of it, individually, to approve what I have done; I only deſire them to ratify what I have done under a conſtitutional and legal authority, by their conſtitutional and legal acquieſcence and confirmation of it; knowing that without it the Nabob Vizier, and his miniſters, who are ignorant of the powers of the Board, and of the principles which give ſtability to its decided acts, will conclude that all the engagements contracted with them, by the only oſtenſible member of our government with whom by the forms of it they are connected, will be diſſolved on his removal from it: I make the propoſal with an anxiety natural to the importance of its iſſue, in the hope that it will prove the laſt act of my public life, and the laſt teſt which I ſhall exact from the Board of that ſpirit of mutual conciliation which no difference of opinion has yet been able wholly to extinguiſh, and which it is my moſt earneſt wiſh to preſerve, whether we are to be ſtill longer united in the ſame ſervice, or whether we are to part, in our public capacities, for ever.

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The following minute is delivered by Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Stables:

We have considered the very important and solemn proposition which the Governor-general has made to the Board: the very earnest manner in which he has called upon us, as his colleagues in the administration, and the great anxiety which he has expressed for the issue of our determination, oblige us to confine our sentiments, on the present occasion, to a close and explicit answer to the question which he has been pleased to propose.

The question itself, as a proposition for our adoption, is stated in full and clear terms; nor need we repeat the words. Is is a proposition founded upon specific acts of this government which have already taken place, and, as members of the government, we have already committed our sanction in its favour, by those legal obligations which bind every member of the administration to the acts of a decided majority, and that constitutional acquiescence in the arrangements concluded between the Governor-general and the Nabob Vizier and his ministers, and to which our ratification is required, in the liberal principle which the Governor-general has specified.

We are sensible of the just and public grounds upon which it is proper and necessary that the Nabob Vizier should be assured that arrangements concluded with him for the discharge of his debt to the Company, and the future regulation and encrease of his revenues, should remain permanent and and binding upon the Company's representatives, independent of the continuance in office of the Governor-general for the time, who had the delegated powers of the government to conclude those arrangements; we are therefore willing and ready to adopt the mode which the Governor-general has proposed for relieving the mind of the Vizier, as well as his ministers, from all apprehension or uneasiness upon this subject.

We are confident, at the same time, that the Governor-general will, of his own accord, use his utmost influence to convince the Vizier and his ministers of the necessity of a punctual performance of their engagements, so as to preclude this government from all interference in the controul and administration of his Excellency's revenues. Having acceded in so explicit a manner to the Governor-general's proposal, and having pledged our support of arrangements, for the successful issue of which to the public, it is natural for the Governor-general to carry an anxiety beyond the period he may wish to prescribe to his own administration in this country, we further beg leave to assure him, that whether we are to be longer united

united with him in the public fervice, or are foon to feparate, it is our earneft wifh to preferve unextinguifhed, and improve, that fpirit of conciliation which is equally dictated by our own fenfe of public duty and our perfonal refpect for the Governor-general.

(Signed) { JOHN MACPHERSON.
JOHN STABLES.

Extract of Bengal Secret Confultations, the 14th January 1785.

The Governor-general requefts the decifion of the Board on a propofition which he fome time fince fubmitted to their confideration; namely, that if it fhall be their refolution, on the arrival of the Fox, which it has been fuppofed may contain fome orders refpecting the force to be kept up in the provinces dependent on the Nabob of Owde, to retain the detachment now commanded by Colonel Sir John Cummings in its prefent ftation at Futty Ghur, or in any other part of the Nabob's dominions, the payment of its expences be not demanded from the Nabob Vizier during the courfe of this year, but the fubject be generally referred to the honourable Court of Directors, and a due time allowed for their anfwer and decifion thereon to be received, for the regulation of that claim. The Governor-general is the more anxious to receive the determination of the Board on the queftion depending, becaufe he conceives it to be immediately connected with the object of his minute of the 4th inftant; for if the charge of that detachment, which has been eftimated at twenty-two lacks and a half, but which will more probably amount to twenty-five lacks, fhall be exacted from the Nabob Vizier in the courfe of the prefent year, it will not only be a breach of the engagements made with him by the Governor-general, but exceed by the amount, whatever it may be, his ability to pay it, and the demand will produce the effect of a total abolition of the engagements now fubfifting with the Nabob Vizier.

Refpecting the queftion of withdrawing or continuing the corps, the Governor-general informs the Board, that the Nabob Vizier has provided five battalions of Sepoys to replace Colonel Cumming's detachment. Thefe have been lately completed, and properly equipped for the fervice, under the direction of a very able officer, whom the Governor-general left with the Nabob for that purpofe, and for attendance on the prince, with whom they are at prefent ftationed as his guard; they are to attend the prince as far as Futty Ghur, their deftined ftation, and

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and no further, as the Nabob cannot provide funds for raising an equivalent recruit to supply their place. This officer is Captain Frith. The Governor-general did not mention his appointment to the Board in his former report relating to the prince, because the Nabob Vizier had at that time signified his intention of placing the corps under the command of a native officer, and the Governor-general of course withdrawn his recommendation of Captain Frith. The Nabob has since changed his intention.

Now, if it be the decided opinion of the Board that the detachment be continued in its station for another year, the Governor-general conceives that it will afford a considerable saving to the Nabob Vizier, to apprize him of it, that he may disband the corps which he had appointed for its relief; and what is a saving to the Nabob will be eventually an aid to the Company. But if the Board shall either suspend their opinion, or shall adopt the conciliatory expedient of ordering the relief to take effect in the month of April or May next, beyond which the approaching season of the rains will preclude the necessity of any defence during their continuance; and it may be easily remanded to the same station, if there should be a call for it after that period; in either of these cases the Nabob should be informed of the Board's intention, that he may keep the same corps in readiness for its eventual destination. The Governor-general offers these intimations merely in advice, deeming it improper, in his present situation, to propose them as formal questions.

The only question in which he requests the decision of the Board, is that to which he has referred in the first part of his minute, viz. that no part of the subsidy or charge of Colonel Sir John Cumming's detachment be exacted from the Nabob Vizier during the course of this year, but that his engagement be allowed to stand at 1,05,00,000 rupees, the sum fixed by his engagement concluded with and ratified by the Governor-general.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Macpherson.

The sum agreed between the Governor-general and the Nabob Vizier to be discharged within the Fussully year, is all that can be exacted from the Vizier within that period. I agree that the expence of Sir John Cumming's detachment be submitted, as was suggested in a former minute of the Governor-general's, and more particularly in the preceding minute, to the determination of the Court of Directors. But I think that the Vizier should be immediately informed that the Board think the expence of his

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his new levies an unneceſſary expence, and that Sir John Cumming's detachment will, while it remains in his dominions, render thoſe new battalions unneceſſary.

The Governor-general is requeſted to write to his Excellency the Vizier accordingly.

(Signed) J. M'P.

Agreed.

J. S.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 8th March 1785.

The Governor-general lays before the Board the following letters, which he has received from Major Palmer; the laſt incloſing a letter from his Royal Highneſs the Shahzada Mirza Jewan Buckt.

Dear Sir, Lucknow, 13th Feb. 1785.

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 1ſt inſtant, and am deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the liberal and generous terms upon which you require my continuance at Lucknow, for the purpoſes of aſſiſting in the arrangements eſtabliſhed by Mr. Haſtings between the Company and the Vizier, and of the tranſactions of your government.

It is with the greateſt ſincerity that I declare to you, my firſt wiſh is to retire from public buſineſs, not from diſtruſt of your confidence and ſupport, but for reaſons which are purely of perſonal conſideration to myſelf; yet I am too conſcious of my obligations to the Company, to my moſt worthy and reſpected patron and friend, Mr. Haſtings, and to the manner in which you have engaged my ſervices, to heſitate a moment in making any ſacrifice of my eaſe or convenience, whilſt you and he are partially diſpoſed to believe it may contribute to the ſucceſs of public affairs, and to the credit of your adminiſtration. Theſe will be the firſt objects of my attention, ſo long as you are pleaſed to honour me with the execution of your commands. I have no views, nor will I entertain any that can come into competition with them; and you may be aſſured, that I will ſerve you with the ſame zeal and fidelity with which I have ſerved Mr. Haſtings for near eleven years.

I am perſuaded that it cannot be difficult for you to find, amongſt your particular and moſt deſerving friends, a gentleman with every requiſite to conciliate the confidence and eſteem of the Vizier and his ſervants, and with abilities far ſuperior to mine to conduct the affairs of your government at this Durbar; and whenever you ſhall be inclined to ſend here a perſon of this deſcription, I will moſt chearfully and cordially make way for him, and introduce

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introduce him upon the moſt advantageous footing in my power.

The Vizier and his miniſters place a firm reliance upon the aſſurances which Mr. Haſtings has given them of your friendly diſpoſition towards them, and of your determination to abide by the engagements which he has entered into. Their confidence will be ſtrengthened and confirmed by your own letters, and the daily proofs which the courſe of buſineſs will afford.

The Shah Zaada and the Vizier are hourly expected. I ſhall have the honour to preſent your letters to them on their arrival; and will omit no means nor opportunity of exciting in their minds that entire confidence and eſteem which is ſo neceſſary to the public welfare, and for your mutual perſonal ſatisfaction. I have not the ſmalleſt doubt of ſucceſs in this endeavour.

I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that there is not the leaſt appearance of failure in the Vizier's pecuniary engagements to the Company. The crops are remarkably fine, and no obſtruction has happened, or is likely to happen in the collections. It ſhall be my particular care to guard againſt every circumſtance which may tend to diſappoint the well-grounded hope I entertain upon this ſubject.

The late predatory incurſion of the Seiks has been more diſcreditable than injurious to the Vizier's government; there has certainly been neglect in the Aumil of Rohilcund, as the Vizier pays for a force in that country more than adequate to its protection againſt ſuch a deſpicable banditti as the Seiks, and the Ghauts ſhould have been properly guarded as ſoon as the rivers became fordable. The depredations made by theſe freebooters falls upon individuals, and can in no ſhape affect the public revenues. They retreated acroſs the Ganges on the firſt appearance of the Vizier's troops; and although they are now aſſembled to the number, as is reported, of 20,000, on the weſtern ſhore of the Ganges, I have not the leaſt apprehenſion of their making another attempt to penetrate into the Vizier's dominions, as Sir John Cumming detached two regiments on the 2d inſtant to Anoopſhire, and was to follow with his whole force on the 12th.

Repeated and uniform accounts have been received through the public news-papers, and private intelligence, of encouragement given to this attack upon the Vizier's poſſeſſions by Mahajee Scindia, and of his having engaged to ſupport it by a Maratta force. I did not give implicit credit to theſe reports, but the poſſibility of their being true was ſufficient cauſe for not neglecting them. I therefore recommend it to the Vizier to require the actual

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actual march of the Futty Ghur detachment, and the preparation for it of the brigade at Cawnpore. The latter is now suspended as unnecessary, since Sir John Cumming is in the field, and Scindia has solemnly disavowed to Mr. Anderson having excited the Seiks to ravage the Vizier's country.

The acting minister of the Vizier having some time since intimated to me, that the conduct of Almass Ally Cawn wore the appearance of discontent, and of a design to give disturbance to the affairs of government, I requested the latter to come to Lucknow, with which he immediately complied. I made the departure of Mr. Hastings, and my desire to give him assurances of your kindness and protection, the pretext for desiring to see him; and whilst he was with me I found means to ascertain his real disposition and intentions, which I have the satisfaction to assure you are entirely dutiful towards his master, and full of confidence in and attachment to the Company's government. I discovered that he had entertained some distrust of Hyder Beg Cawn, on account of his having detached two of his principal dependants from their connection with him, at a time when it was suspected that he intended to retire from the Vizier's dominions; but I found it easy to remove this misunderstanding, and to restore confidence and cordiality between them, which they have engaged to preserve, and to apply their utmost exertions in their respective stations for the prosperity of the Vizier's affairs, and of those of the Company, as connected with them.

I hope that this concise relation will suffice to give you a general view of the present situation of the Vizier's most material concerns. I shall not fail to inform you regularly of all future transactions as they occur.

I have the honour to be,
with perfect respect and attachment,
Dear, Sir,
Your most obedient and
faithful humble servant,
(Signed) Wm. PALMER.

Dear Sir, Lucknow, 21st February 1785.

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 9th instant, with the enclosures of one for Hyder Beg Cawn, and one for Almass Alli Cawn, and duplicates of your former letters to these persons, and to Hessein Rezza Cawn.

Herewith I have the pleasure to transmit to you answers from the Nabob Vizier and his two principal ministers to your first letters: I am acquainted with their contents,

contents, although I had no ſhare in their compoſition: I can aſſure you, that they contain the genuine and unmixed ſentiments of the writers; and, for this reaſon, I am perſuaded will afford you real ſatisfaction. I have the pleaſure further to aſſure you, from the opportunity of daily perſonal obſervation, that the Shah Zaada, the Vizier, and his miniſters, entertain the moſt entire confidence in your juſtice and friendly intentions towards them; and that no uneaſineſs remains upon their minds; but what ariſes from their perſonal attachment and eſteem for Mr. Haſtings.

I am willing to believe that you will conſider the mention which is made of me in theſe letters, as a proof that I had no part in dictating them. I own that my vanity is gratified by the favourable opinions expreſſed of me; yet a ſenſe of delicacy would induce me to deſire they might be ſuppreſſed, if it had not occurred to me that they might ſerve as an argument in ſupport of the honour which you have done me to continue me in the charge of the affairs of your government at this Durbar.

The Shah Zaada is preparing his anſwer. Almas is at a diſtance; but I expect his alſo in a day or two.

The encloſed order for two hundred and two gold Mohurs is the accuſtomary Nazurs of congratulation from the Miniſters Huſſein Rezza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn.

As your letter informs me that Mr. Haſtings had finally taken his departure, I beg leave in this place to offer you my ſincere congratulations on your acceſſion to the honourable and important ſtation which he has reſigned, and my warmeſt wiſhes that your adminiſtration may be invariably proſperous.

In my letter of the 13th inſtant I had the honour to acquaint you with the ſtate of the moſt material concerns of the Vizier's government. The incurſion of the Seiks was ſudden and predatory, they retired on the firſt appearance of the Vizier's troops, without any conſiderable booty, nor have they ſince attempted to diſturb the Vizier's dominions; on the contrary, the chief who is at this time with a body of thoſe people near the Vizier's frontier, on the weſtern ſide of the Ganges, has written to the Aumil of Rohilcund, that the late incurſion was an act unauthorized by and offenſive to their ſtate. The greateſt part of theſe freebooters have retreated acroſs the Jumna, on the approach of Lieutenant Colonel Knudſon's detachment, and thoſe who remain in the Doab will avoid giving him any pretext for attacking them; their preſent purpoſe is to levy their tribute upon the country of the late Zaabita Cawn.

In

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In this situation of security from their further ravages, the Vizier has recommended it to Colonel Sir John Cumming to return to Futty Ghur, with the principal part of his force, leaving Lieutenant Colonel Knudson, with two regiments, at Anoopshire, until the rise of the river shall make the passage of the enemy impracticable, which will be early in the month of April.

The Minister and Almass Ali Cawn continue on terms of entire cordiality and confidence. I have not the smallest apprehension that their good understanding will be interrupted, since you have given them both such encouragement to rely upon your protection and support, whilst they discharge their respective duties for the advantage of both governments: and as they know how essentially their own honours and interests depend upon their zeal and fidelity, there can be no doubt of their best exertions.

I advised Mr. Hastings on the 22d ultimo, of the suspicions which the minister entertained of Almass Ali Cawn; but as I considered the exceptionable part of his conduct as calculated merely to obtain some advantage or indulgence in his farms, I told the Governor that I would not alarm administration until I had proofs to justify the apprehension of serious danger. The truth is, that Almass Ali Cawn has been made too powerful and opulent a subject, and certainly would be too much for the Vizier's government, if he was not restrained by its connection with ours: but as matters are now circumstanced, his defection would be attended with many ill consequences, and it cannot be denied that his opulence is productive of some good ones. His punctuality in payment may be relied on; and he frequently assists government with the advance of very considerable sums in its exigencies. He knows that he can no where obtain such a degree of security for his person and property as he finds in his present situation; it must therefore be very unjust and rigorous treatment that will induce him to desert it; and so long as he continues it, proper management will turn it to the benefit of the state.

There can be no doubt that all the transactions between your government, the Shah, and Mahajee Scindia, might be managed by a single agent: but I am almost certain that these two powers would not negociate confidently with the same person. The Shah is far from being satisfied with the exercise of the authority and influence which Scindia has acquired over his affairs, and will struggle to free himself from his controul, whenever he thinks there is a prospect of changing it for another that will leave him a greater choice of action. He will never lose sight of your government, as his best resource against the injuries

juries and indignities which are offered to him by thofe who affume the direction of his affairs; and as a time may come when it fhall be thought as politic and expedient, as it may be thought juft and honourable, to fupport the houfe of Timur, and as at all times Shah Allum will not fail to apply to you when he feels his fituation too irkfome for his patience, it will perhaps be neceffary to have an exprefs agent from your government to refide with him for the purpofe of confidential communication, which it would be difficult to conduct without one. I find alfo, that, at this time the refidence of an agent in the fervice of the Company is ufeful to the Vizier; and that he is defirous a feparate agent fhould remain with the Shah until his return to Delhi, when it will be clearly known whether his Majefty is determined to continue the influence and authority of Scindia and the Mahratta ftate, or is difpofed to change it. In the former cafe, an agent from you will not only be ufelefs, but may be pernicious, whilft your government, and that of the Mahrattas, continue in their prefent relative fituation.

Thefe reafons againft giving any intimation to Major Browne of your fentiments upon this fubject, have occurred to me upon a fhort reflection, but your judgment and information are fo fuperior to mine, that I cannot expect my arguments fhould be conclufive; I offer them as my excufe for not hinting, until I hear from you again, any thing upon the fubject to Major Browne.

Left the defire which is expreffed in the Vizier's letter to you, of my continuing here, fhould be any reftraint upon your inclination, at any time hereafter, to place another gentleman in my ftation, the fmalleft hint from you fhall fuffice to make the change my own act; and I fincerely declare, that whenever you may think proper it fhall take place, I fhall have a pride and fatisfaction in the opportunity of evincing the extent of my wifhes to deferve the confidence which you have repofed in me, and the regard which you have expreffed for me.

I fhall difpatch, by the public Dawk Bearers, to-morrow, and fucceffively, fome bafkets of fruits, of which Hyder Beg Cawn requefts your acceptance.

I have the honour to be, with the trueft attachment and refpect,

Dear Sir,
your moft obedient,
and faithful humble fervant,
(Signed) WM. PALMER.

Dear

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Lucknow, 24th February 1785.

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, a letter from the Shah Zaada, in answer to yours to him; and I have the satisfaction to assure you, that he is disposed to conduct himself entirely by the wishes and advice of your government, and to place the firmest reliance upon your personal kindness and friendship.

The Prince and the Vizier live in perfect harmony; and the former appears to be very happy and contented with his present situation.

The Seiks have entirely evacuated the frontiers of the Vizier's dominions, and every thing within them is in a state of tranquillity, without the least appearance of further disturbance or obstruction in the collections.

I have the honour to be, with perfect attachment and respect,

Dear Sir,
your most obedient,
and faithful humble servant,
Wm. PALMER.

From the Prince: Received 7th March 1785.

Your letter has been received, in which you write that you are ready and active, from your heart and soul, in obedience and fidelity to the presence, and that at all times, and in all situations, you consider your allegiance as your greatest happiness; and that you are hopeful of the same favour and protection from the presence, as were experienced by the late Governor-general. Before this I had been convinced of your fidelity and attachment to me; and now, from the representation of Major Palmer, and from the receipt of your Arzee, I have been a hundred-fold more inclined towards you. The proofs of obedience in the late Governor-general, and his labour and attention to forward my concerns, are well known to you, and that he was even desirous of returning to this quarter, to shew his attachment to the presence, he must have acquainted you; as it has been necessary for him to depart for Europe, the settled allegiance which he had in his heart will, by the blessing of God, shew itself in your conduct. I am convinced of and depend firmly upon your attachment, and whatever favour and protection were shewn from the presence to the late Governor-general, will be doubled towards you. Know me to be beyond measure favourable, and well inclined to you; write constantly the accounts of your own situation.

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Read the following letters to the Governor-general, from his Excellency the Nabob Vizier, and the Nabobs Hussein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn:

From the Vizier: Received 3d March 1783.

Your friendly letter, containing the proofs of your friendship and affection, and full of words of friendship, and letters of kindness, arrived and gladdened me with all the particulars of your sincerity and affection.

The connection and alliance which existed between the Company, the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, and the Gentlemen of the Council, and the deceased Nawab during his life, need not be mentioned. By the blessing of God, the strength of this mutual affection is every day encreasing. Mr. Hastings was at all times ready to support the connection of friendship, to improve the affairs of the Company, to add benefits and advantages, and stability to the concerns of my government, and to preserve the credit and satisfaction of my ministers, who are faithful servants to both parties; and when he came to Lucknow, he settled an agreement with them for the payment of the debt to the Company, and for the good management of all my concerns. These circumstances are all known to you; and as you, out of regard to the sincere and close friendship, in conformity to the customs and rules of the English, who never deviate from their engagements, have determined to preserve it, and having from your friendship approved that plan, are inclined to support between yourself and me the agreement made by the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings; you have by this auspicious news made me happy and easy on all accounts. This matter was fully explained to the utmost satisfaction of my heart, by the letters of the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, and the representations of Major Palmer. I am now from your letter fully convinced that you will maintain that agreement, which is full of advantages on both sides; and Major Palmer has given me the greatest reliance upon you. I am now, hopeful, from your friendship, that in the same degree as the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, supported and maintained the strength, and friendship, and the stability of my concerns, and the credit and the honour of my ministers, you also will at present, from friendship, be inclined to maintain the connection of intimacy, the establishment and promotion of good management in my affairs, and the honour and credit of my ministers; and I will at all times be equally stedfast in my friendship with you, as with the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings. By the blessing of God the debt to

to the Company will be properly settled under the plan fixed by Mr. Hastings with my ministers. I have been highly delighted that Major Palmer remains with me on the former footing, because Major Palmer is always labouring with me to confirm the mutual friendship. From his letters you will learn all particulars of my friendship and satisfaction.

From Hussein Reza Cawn: Received 3d March 1785.

YOUR gracious letter, containing the particulars of your friendship for his Highness the Vizier, and of your approval and resolution to maintain the plan which the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, settled before his departure from Lucknow, honoured me by its arrival in a happy hour. The letters of the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, assuring that you were determined to preserve the friendship of his Highness, and to shew favour to his ministers and dependants arrived, and the particulars were further and fully explained by Major Palmer, in consequence of your and the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings's, instructions, and gave the highest satisfaction. As the labours of the Company's chiefs have been always stedfast and firm in preserving the connection of friendship between the Company and his Highness the Vizier, and to this time its encrease has, under the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings's, management, been published to the world and its inhabitants: at present, that your letters are arrived, and that with the pen of friendship you promise to preserve the connection in the same state of strength and stedfastness, his Highness and all his wellwishers are made happy and grateful for your favours. I am an old servant, was from the beginning the faithful servant and wellwisher of both governments; and now also, being fixed in the same obedience and fidelity, and considering you the same as Mr. Hastings, and being ready with my life, under a reliance upon your favour and protection, I will perform the duties of attachment, and will in no instance be deficient in the execution of your orders. I am convinced, from your kindness and favour, that the same protection as Mr. Hastings gave to my credit and honour, and the same favours as he bestowed, you, who have now expressed your approbation of my conduct, will fulfil my hopes, by bestowing upon me the further particulars of my readiness and obedience; and my dependance upon, and confidence in, the favours and kindness which you have expressed will be explained to you by the letters of Major Palmer, who formerly, in consequence of Mr. Hastings's instructions, and now, in obedience to your orders, has

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given his Highneſs and us, and all his Highneſs's ſervants, the greateſt confidence in you. I am hopeful that I may be honoured with frequent letters.

From Hyder Beg Cawn; received 3d March 1785.

In the ſame words as the preceding.

From Huſſein Reza Cawn; 8th March.

YOUR gracious letter, full of the particulars of favour and friendſhip, arrived, and encreaſed my dignity; and I received the greateſt pleaſure and happineſs from learning your favour and kindneſs, and your reliance upon the fidelity of me, whoſe ſole deſire is to experience your ſatisfaction and protection. By the bleſſing of God, and your good auſpices, all matters will be compleated in conformity to your wiſhes, and your great name and your dignity will be publiſhed in all Hindoſtan. The ſhadow of your favour and protection alone is neceſſary to produce that happy ſtate of affairs which you wiſh; and the plan which the Nabob Governor-general Amaud ud Dowla Bahadre ſettled in his own preſence at Lucknow, will, through your protection, meet with a happy completion to your utmoſt ſatisfaction; at this time that from your knowledge of men, and your protection of your ſervants, you have written ſo full a conſolation to us, and Major Palmer, in your name, has aſſured us of your favour and kindneſs, and your reliance upon us, not the ſmalleſt hope, doubt, or alarm, is left in the heart of his Highneſs and his ſervants. My preſent only wiſh is, that, employing myſelf from my heart and ſoul in the execution of your orders, and in obedience to your commands, I may preſerve your ſatisfaction and pleaſure, which I muſt conceive as my greateſt happineſs, in the ſame degree as I employed, obeyed, and executed the orders of the Nabob Governor-general Amaud ul Doulah; knowing my happineſs to be concerned, I will from my heart and ſoul employ myſelf in fidelity and obedience to your commands, having and being at all times firm in my attachment to the Company's government, and that of his Highneſs, which are every way the ſame. I will now, through hopes of your favour and protection, be doubly ſo; for I, conſidering my own intereſts to depend upon my proper management of the concerns of both governments, and in your ſatiſfaction, you will learn all theſe particulars from Major Palmer's letter.—The concern which, from your kindneſs, you mention to have felt on account of the Seiks diſturbance in the neighbourhood of Bevelly is very flattering.

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tering. The case is, that in the beginning, from the Ghauts of the Ganges being fordable, the Seiks crossed the river, but immediately on the approach of the army of the Vizier, having no power to remain, they returned, and his Highness's army being again put under the command of Raja Jugnaut Bahadre, has in a proper manner disposed all the Ghauts of the Ganges, and for a greater protection two regiments from the Company's forces at Futty Gurr are marching towards Anoopshire; and his Highness's army having crossed at the Ghauts, in the country of the King and Zabeta Khan, are going towards the river Jumna. The disturbances of the Seiks are now at an end, which I write for your information; and through your assistance, and the firmness of your favour and protection, all matters will be properly settled. I am, beyond dispute, full of attachment to both governments, and am hopeful that I may be gladdened by letters of favour and kindness. Further particulars of my attachment and ready fidelity to you, and my wishes to procure your satisfaction, will be fully known to you by Major Palmer's letters.

From Hyder Beg Cawn; Ditto.

In the same words.

Extract of Company's Letter to Bengal; dated 11th April 1785.

Par. 63. The resolution you passed on the 31st December 1783 to withdraw the residency from Lucknow, and to accept the offer made by the Vizier and his minister, to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and the current kists, has our approbation; but by this approbation it is by no means our intention, either on the one hand to condemn the conduct of our Residents, or on the other to preclude ourselves from examining into the complaints exhibited against them by the Vizier and his minister. We approve likewise of the continuance of an Accountant or Receiver at Lucknow, so long as any of the Company's troops shall be stationed in the Vizier's dominions, whose business must be confined to the sole purpose of adjusting and keeping the accounts between the Nabob and the Company, receiving the stipulated subsidy for those troops, and for appropriating the same in such manner as you shall think proper to direct.

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Letters from Mr. Macpherson to the Nabob Vizier, Hyder Beg Khan, &c. and Fyzoulla Khan.

To the Nabob Vizier: Written 16th June 1785.

In consequence of Major Palmer's wishes to return from his present office of minister for the Governor-general at your Highness's court, I have appointed Colonel Harper to his office.

In this appointment I have been guided by my knowledge of your Highness's high opinion of Colonel Harper, and the real attachment which he bears to your family, as well as the great esteem which your ministers and people bear to him from the experience which your late most illustrious father had of his attachment and honour.

Major Palmer will introduce Colonel Harper with the proper ceremony to your Highness. Permit me to add, that it was the wish of the late Governor-general, though he had no personal friendship for Colonel Harper, that he should be minister on the part of my government at your Highness's court, after the departure of Major Palmer.

If I had it in my power to shew a stronger mark of my attachment to your Highness, and of my determination to maintain the engagements settled between us than I now do by the appointment of Colonel Harper, I would gladly give such a proof of my friendship. In every matter you will find me the true friend of your family, and the just supporter of your rights. Colonel Harper will explain particulars.

As Major Palmer is speedily to return to Calcutta, I trust your Highness will mark his departure from your court with civility and favour.

To Hyder Beg Khan, Hussen Reza Khan, and Almass Ally Khan, of the same tenor and date.

To Akbar Ally Khan: Written 16th June 1785.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of his Royal Highness, that Colonel Harper is appointed my minister for the transaction of the affairs of my government at the court of the Nabob Vizier.

Colonel Harper will receive a separate and higher commission from me as my minister at the court of his Royal Highness, for whom I could not testify greater loyalty and affection than by such appointment.

Please to inform his Royal Highness of my constant attachment to his person, and that it will be my greatest ambition to obtain for him solid proofs of the regard and friendship

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friendship of the English. The Nabob Vizier cannot oblige me more than by his constant proofs of obedience and personal friendship to his Royal Highness; and this is fully known to the Nabob Vizier, to his ministers, and people. Write to me frequent accounts of his Highness's welfare, and of your own prosperity.

To Fyzeulla Khan.

In consequence of Major Palmer's wishes to retire from his present office of minister for the Governor-general at the Nabob Vizier's court, I have appointed Colonel Harper to his office.

In this appointment I have been guided by my knowledge of his Highness's high opinion of Colonel Harper, and the real attachment which he bears to his Highness's family, as well as the great esteem which his Highness's ministers and people bear to him, from the experience which the late most illustrious Nabob had of his attachment and honour.

Permit me to add, that it was the wish of the late Governor-general, though he had no personal friendship for Colonel Harper, that he should be minister on the part of my government at his Highness's court, after the departure of Major Palmer.

Considering me to be your true friend, write frequently, and let all your letters, and every information respecting your concerns, be forwarded to me through the Colonel, to whom I refer you for particulars.

To Muzuffer Jung, of Furruckabad.

Of the same Tenor and Date, except the last Paragraph, which is as follows:

In consequence of your friendship for the Company, I have given you this information; and request that, considering me to be your true friend, you will constantly write me the news of your health.

Extract of Court's Letter to Bengal, dated 21st September 1785.

Para. 6. In your letter of the 17th January last, you have submitted the following question to our determination, viz. "Whether the Company or the Vizier shall "be charged with the expence of the detachment com-"manded by Sir John Cummings;" and we have taken an early opportunity of communicating to you our di-

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rections herein. As your late Governor-general, in virtue of the powers with which he was invested, had agreed with the Vizier to strike out the charge of this detachment from his account from 1st January 1785, we hereby direct that the said agreement be punctually adhered to.

7. In the final arrangement of the military peace establishment which will accompany this dispatch, we have had in view the whole of the service which it will be necessary to provide for under your presidency; such part of that establishment as will be stationed in the Vizier's dominions will be paid by him according to the stipulations of the subsisting agreements. But it is our positive order, that no greater number of troops be employed upon that service, unless at his Excellency's particular application and request; and that all the troops so employed be considered as part of our fixed establishment, which is not upon any account to be enlarged.

8. We cannot help expressing our regret that the opinion of your Board did not concur with that of the Governor-general, when the question concerning the recall of Colonel Cummings's detachment was under your consideration, as the expence of it will, before the receipt of this letter, amount to nearly the sum of £. 300,000; and we agree with Mr. Hastings, that the brigade which by treaty is to be constantly resident in those dominions, would be found fully adequate to their protection. We therefore direct, that upon receipt of this letter not a moment be lost in ordering the recall of Sir John Cummings's detachment, so that the Company may be instantly relieved from the burden of that enormous expence.

16. The irruption of the Seiks, of which you advise us, leads to no other conclusion but the propriety of keeping a watchful eye over the western frontier of our own provinces, and those of the Vizier, which is the conclusion you properly draw from it.

17. In a preceding paragraph, we have directed the immediate recall of the Futty Ghur detachment. But as by your last advices we find that in consequence of these hostilities from the Seiks in the province of Rohilcund, the Vizier had applied for the assistance of a part of this detachment, and that it was probable he would make a further request for the whole, we hereby order, that the detachment be continued so long as the Vizier shall deem such continuance necessary for his own security, in which case the expence thereof must be carried to his account, agreeably to the stipulations of the treaty of 1781.

18. But as soon as the Vizier shall cease to require the assistance of all or any part of that detachment, we direct

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direct our former orders to be carried into execution; and even during the time the Vizier may call for their assistance, we hereby order, that the whole expence of the staff, batta, and other contingencies, be immediately abolished.

19. And while upon this subject, we think it proper to express our approbation of the principles contained in Mr. Macpherson's letter to the Vizier, bearing date the 18th February last, and we expect that the agreements made between the Vizier and Mr. Hastings will be invariably adhered to.

20. Upon the same principle we must express our opinion, that if the continuance of Major Palmer with the Vizier is wished for by him, it would be improper at present to recall him, and far less would it be proper to send any person to reside with him whose presence would be peculiarly adverse to his feelings.

21. We observe what is stated relative to the good opinion Mr. Macpherson entertains of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper. Upon that subject we purposely refrain from giving any opinion whatever; for the whole transactions in Oude for a considerable time past will very soon receive our full consideration, and it would be improper to anticipate any opinion at present.

22. In your letter of the 22d February last, we find it stated, that the sum charged to the Vizier for the brigade at Cawnpore is short of the actual expence, in the monthly sum of CRs. 33,760. 12. 4, and for the Futty Ghur detachment is CRs. 49,287. 11. 8, and for the regiment at Lucknow CRs. 984. 3. 10. It is not our intention to charge to the Vizier more or less than by the treaty he has stipulated to pay; but we must at the same time direct, that you make such arrangements in the corps serving in his Excellency's dominions, without diminishing their actual force, as will reduce their expences within the sum stipulated for them.

23. As we consider the troops stationed in the territories of the Nabob of Oude as forming a strong barrier to our own provinces, and as in our separate letter of this date we have stated the established force which we think fully adequate to their defence, it is our meaning that those troops shall be considered as forming a part of such establishment.

LETTER

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Letter of Directors approving the Abolition of the Residency of Owde, 1785.

Extract of Company's Letter to Bengal; dated 11th April 1785.

Par. 63. THE resolution you passed on the 31st December 1783, to withdraw the residency from Lucknow, and to accept the offer made by the Vizier and his minister to give the security of Bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and the current kists, has our approbation; but by this approbation it is by no means our intention, either on the one hand to condemn the conduct of our residents, or on the other to preclude ourselves from examining into the complaints exhibited against them by the Vizier and his minister. We approve likewise of the continuance of an accountant or receiver at Lucknow, so long as any of the Company's troops shall be stationed in the Vizier's dominions, whose business must be confined to the sole purpose of adjusting and keeping the accounts between the Nabob and the Company, receiving the stipulated subsidy for those troops, and for appropriating the same in such manner as you shall think proper to direct.

Copy of Proceedings, &c. relative to Allowances made from the Revenues of Oude to the Company's Servants, and others, residing within the Dominions of the Nabob Vizier.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 19th February 1785.

Extract of Letter from the Governor-general to the Vizier; dated 18th Febry. 1785.

WITH the reduction of the Company's expences, I anxiously wish to lessen the expences to which your Highness's treasury is put on account of the Company's troops, and that of gratuities to the Company's servants in your dominions, unless I think it for the Company's real service that your Highness should order any such allowance in

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in future, or that you should be pleased to continue any allowances that are now granted. I hope your Highness will not grant any, or continue to order any to be paid, that are not recorded in the Company's accounts.

In case I should be of opinion, that your Highness should shew marks of your favour and generosity to the Company's officers and servants, I shall mention the business to the gentlemen in Council, and your Highness's generosity will then appear on the Company's books; for it is fit that the Company should know, in every instance, the allowances of their servants in their employments at your Highness's court, and in your dominions.

When the matters are fully known and recorded, much expence will be saved to your Highness, and I shall have much less trouble from the applications of the Company's servants who wish to have leave to reside at your court, and in your country. Besides that, the Company will have much satisfaction from an invariable regulation in these matters.

Your Highness may be assured, that every regulation tending to restrain the expences of the Company's government, and of your own, is a regulation to strengthen the friendship that was established between them and your illustrious father, and more strongly with your Highness.

Extract of Secret Letter from Bengal; dated 22d February 1785.

Par. 32. YOUR honourable Court will readily approve another principal object of that letter *. It explains to the Vizier the plan of reform which your government has adopted, and which was resolved upon with the concurrence of your late Governor-general. It promises a relief to the Nabob's treasury, by carrying a similar plan of œconomical regulation through every connection of our service with that of the Vizier within his Excellency's country; and it expressly stipulates, that his Excellency shall not pay any allowances or gratuity to any of the Company's servants, civil or military, within his dominions, that are not regularly recorded in his public accounts with this government. This stipulation appears from the result of late investigations to be no less requisite for the good of your service in general than for the relief of the Vizier, and it is our steady determination to en-

* *Mr. McPherson's Letter to the Vizier.*

force

force and maintain it as far as our best exertions can effect so desirable a purpose.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 8th March 1785.

Extract of Letter from the Governor General to Major Palmer; dated 8th March 1785.

One of the heavy complaints of the Nabob Vizier was the expence to which his government has been put by the allowances granted in various ways, and under different establishments, to the Company's civil and military servants in his dominions; such allowances, unless they have the express approbation of the Company's administration, and are recorded in the public accounts, are no less a grievance to the Vizier than injurious to the Company's service and general interests.

I have resolved, as the letter to the Nabob Vizier, of which a translation was sent, would inform you, to bring all allowances and pensions from the Vizier's treasury in the face of his account with the Company; my object is not an unpleasant and invidious retrospect (which seldom, in any case, forwards the public interest) but to keep our accounts with the Vizier correct and just in future, that he may have no cause, public or secret, for not fulfilling his engagements with the Company, and that as a correct adjustment may take place in his disbursements for the Company's service, a measure equally salutary to the respective interests of his and our own government, and constituting the best check to future intrigues.

My predecessor was often anxious to draw this line of adjustment, but he possessed not the opportunities which now offer for its establishment. The recent contest between the Nabob's ministers, and the servants of the Company at Lucknow, have placed the subject of the Vizier's resources, and the manner of their expenditure, in a clear view, fully upon record, and independent of the wishes which Mr. Hastings had, equally with me, to draw the line of disbursement from the Vizier's treasury to a just and œconomical precision: present necessity, and the honour of this government, press irresistably for the adoption of the measures which I have recommended to the Vizier.

Mr. Hastings united with us heartily in the general system of retrenchments before his departure. We are now carrying resolutions adopted in Council with him into practical effect; and it will be necessary to inform the Company's servants at Lucknow, that they are not to remain

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remain excluded from the effects of a general system of œconomy and retrenchment: what they receive from the Vizier is in fact received from the Company, while he is so much in arrears to them.—Mr. Wombwell will be directed to lay before the Board, bona fide, all the allowances that are paid to the Company's servants, of whatever description, within the Vizier's dominions, from the Vizier's treasury, or from the Company's paymasters. Your own allowances, as the late Governor-general's agent at Lucknow, should be mentioned with the rest. The Vizier, I suppose, finds you a house and servants. These particulars I would not mention, but on the principle that, when real reforms are undertaken, they should begin with the conductors of these reforms. You will understand that I have shewn the example in my own family; yet I claim not any comparative merit in this measure; my predecessor had not the opportunity that was offered to me, nor was the public distress ever so pressing as in the present moment

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 26th April 1785.

Extract of Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor-general; dated Lucknow, the 11th April 1785.

The Vizier is now desirous, as you will observe, of being entirely released from the stipends which he has granted to the Company's servants, that he may be enabled to make greater exertions for the common interest. These allowances, during my agency here, have been little more than nominal, only one lack of rupees having been advanced upon them: they are a source of great uneasiness and vexation to me, of which neither the Vizier nor his minister participate, as I have never been importunate with them for payment.

Extract of Letter from the Vizier; received 21st April 1785.

———With respect to the expences of the gentlemen who are here, I have before written in a covered manner. I now write plainly, that I have no ability to give money to the gentlemen, because I am indebted many lacks of rupees to the bankers for the payment of the Company's debt. At the time of Mr. Hastings's departure, I represented to him that I had no resources for the expences of the gentlemen. Mr. Hastings having ascertained my distressed situation, told me, that after his arrival in Calcutta he would consult with the Council, and remove from hence the expences of the gentlemen, and recall

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recall every person except the gentlemen in office here. At this time, that all the concerns are dependant upon you, and you you have in every point given ease to my mind, according to Mr. Hastings's agreement, I hope that the expences of the gentlemen may be removed from them, and that you may recall every person residing here beyond the gentlemen in office. Although Major Palmer does not at this time demand any thing for the gentlemen, and I have no ability to give them any thing; yet the custom of the English gentlemen is, when they remain here, they will in the end ask for something. This is best, that they should be recalled.

Extract Proceedings of the Governor-general and Council, in the Secret Inspection Department, 3d May 1785.

The Governor-general lays before the Board the following letter from Major Palmer, and the list transmitted with it of allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Company's servants, civil and military, employed in his dominions.

Dear Sir, Lucknow, 27th March 1785.

I have the honour to transmit to you the list which you require of allowances made by the Nabob Vizier to the Company's servants, civil and military, and to persons employed under them, within his Excellency's dominions.

These allowances have, since the removal of the Resident's office, been issued through me, as agent from the Governor-general, directly from the Vizier's treasury, and totally independent of his accounts with the Company. Hitherto a very small portion of them has been paid, and even for that I have waited until the Vizier could disburse it without interrupting his payments to the Company, or subjecting him to personal inconvenience.

I had the honour to acquaint you, in a former letter, that I did not think myself authorized to make any further application to the Vizier for allowances to the gentlemen residing at Lucknow, beyond the time of the late Governor-general's departure from thence, because I understood that their continuance after that period depended upon the pleasure of the Board, and not upon the authority of the Governor-general under the sanction of which they were established or confirmed.

It is proper and necessary that you should be fully informed of the Vizier's bounty to the servants of the Company, and I with pleasure anticipate your intended orders to Mr. Wombwell upon that head, by furnishing you with

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with a faithful account of every particular which has come to my knowledge, and I believe that none exist without it. This communication, however, is not likely to be necessary to future regulation, if you should determine to make it an indispensable condition of your consent to the acceptance of allowances of this nature that they shall be registered on the public proceedings; because, however chearfully the Vizier may grant them as acts of his favour, or the reward of his approbation, and that too in the mode and to the extent which you might personally recommend, he would not, without great reluctance, submit himself to the possibility of their being converted into obligations upon him by their being formally constituted a proof of the Company's demands against him.

You will now, Sir, be pleased to determine whether any persons residing at this court on the part of your government should be permitted to receive the bounty of the Vizier in the manner which he may be pleased to bestow it, and to what extent individually.

Your advice and recommendation to the Vizier upon this subject will be the rule of his conduct, because he will feel the fullest conviction of their being dictated by a regard for his interest.

I am inclined to believe that you will judge some emolument indispensable to the creditable subsistence of such gentlemen as must of necessity reside here for the business of the Company; and I am certain that the Vizier will chearfully relieve your government from the charge of it, in consideration of the heavy burthens which the late war has brought upon it, and of these gentlemen being in effect employed for his service, as well as theirs.

I shall offer to your consideration a few observations upon the allowances which may assist your determination.

To begin with my own, I solemnly declare to you, that they are no more than what I really and bona fide expend, and that I have retrenched considerably in some of the articles since the expence has been borne by the Vizier; and in every particular I make as little parade and appearance as my station will admit.

I have not inserted the expences of the arsenal under charge of Lieutenant Colonel Martin, because they are independent of the appointment of a Company's servant.

Mr. Blaine, surgeon, is at a considerable expence in medicine and attendance upon the Vizier, and such of his servants and subjects who require his assistance, which numbers of the latter frequently do.

Mr.

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Mr. Bruce, surgeon, is chiefly employed by the Europeans; and between both descriptions of persons, Lucknow furnishes sufficient practice for two surgeons.

The allowances of Mr. Willis have all the explanation which I am capable of giving them stated in the list.

Messrs. Gregory, Grant, and Jonstone, have afforded me their assistance, the former occasionally, and, in Persian correspondence, the two latter constantly.

Captain Frith has diminished the expences of the corps under his command almost 10,000 rupees per month, without taking a single sepoy from the strength of them. He has no interference with their pay or bazar, nor any means whatever of the smallest emolument, beyond his stated allowance.

Captain Mordaunt has not received a rupee of his allowance, from its commencement to the present hour.

The allowances to the other gentlemen residing at Lucknow are merely gratuities, and require no remark.

Be assured, Sir, that I shall most chearfully acquiesce in whatever you may determine concerning my allowances; and I think myself very happy in an opportunity of contributing to the great object of public œconomy, which you and your colleagues in administration have in view. And I dare answer, that every gentleman here will feel the same sentiments for the public welfare.

I have the honour to be,
with great respect,
Dear, Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,
(Signed) Wm. PALMER.

List of Allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Servants of the Company, Civil and Military, employed in his Excellency's Dominions.

	Monthly.	
	Former Allowances.	Present Allowances.
Major Palmer, agent from the Governor-general at the Durbar, for dawks, established for the purpose of intelligence, servants, cattle, and table expences, upon an average	—	19,000
Mr. Wombwell, paymaster and accountant-general, one and a half commission on receipts -		

Mr.

	Monthly.	
	Former Allowances.	Prefent Allowances.
Mr. Wheler, affiftant to Mr. Wombwell - - -	5,000	5,000
Commanding Officers at Cawnpoor and Futtyghur, in lieu of Bazar cuftoms, each one lack of rupees per annum - - -	—	16,666
Lieutenant Colonel Martin, keeper of the arfenal, pay, batta of his rank	—	3,730
Mr. Blaine, furgeon to the Vizier, and to the civil eftablifhment -	8,000	5,000
Mr. Bruce, do. to the military eftablifhment - -	3,000	2,000
Mr. Scawen, auditor general -	—	2,000
Mr. Gall, affiftant to do. -	—	1,000
Major Browne, on a deputation to the Shah - - -	—	3,000
Mr. Bird, fecretary to do. -	—	1,000
Lieutenant Anderfon, on a deputation to Mahajee Sindia - -	—	3,000
Commanding Officer of the regiment ftationed at Lucknow, for the protection of the Company's treafury	—	2,000
Captain Frith, commanding four battalions of Sepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever	—	5,000
Mr. Gregory, affiftant on the civil eftablifhment - -	3,000	2,000
Meffrs. Grant and Johnftone, ditto, each 2,000 rupees -	—	4,000
Mr. Taylor, dawk mafter, 1,000 rupees for dawks, and 1,000 rupees for dawk bearers - -	—	2,000
Mr. Orr, employed by Mr. Wombwell - - -	—	2,000
Mr. Willis, Sihzawal for the Vizier's tribute at Furruckabad, allowed 48,000 rupees for a battalion of infantry, 5,000 rupees for artillery, 10,000 rupees for horfe, annually, and a commiffion of 3 per cent. upon the tribute.—N. B. The commiffion is paid by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung		
Captain John Mordaunt -	8,000	8,000

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Read the following extract of a letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor-general; received on 21st April, and entered on the secret proceedings of the 26th.

Extract of a Letter from the Vizier to the Governor General; received 21st April 1785.

With respect the expences of the gentlemen who are here, I have before written in a covered manner. I now write plainly, that I have no ability to give money to the gentlemen, because I am indebted many lacks of rupees to the bankers, for the payment of the Company's debt. At the time of Mr. Hastings's departure, I represented to him that I had no resources for the expences of the gentlemen. Mr. Hastings having ascertained my distressed situation, told me, that after his arrival in Calcutta he would consult with the Council, and remove from hence the expences of the gentlemen, and recall every person, except the gentlemen in office here. At this time, that all the concerns are dependant upon you, and you have in every point given ease to my mind, according to Mr. Hastings's agreement, I hope that the expences of the gentlemen may be removed from them, and that you may recall every person residing here beyond the gentlemen in office. Although Major Palmer does not at this time demand any thing for the gentlemen, and I have no ability to give them any thing; yet the custom of the English gentlemen is, when they remain here, they will in the end ask for something. This is best, that they should be recalled.

The Board having attentively considered the list of the monthly allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier to the Company's servants and others at Lucknow, the following resolutions are passed upon them:

Present Allowances at Lucknow.	*Board's Resolutions.*
Major Palmer, agent from the Governor-general at the Durbar, for dawk established for the purpose of intelligence, servants, cattle, and table expences, on an average rupees 19,000 per mensem.	Agreed, That Major Palmer's allowances per mensem be restricted to the amount of those usually paid to a minister of this government at a foreign Court; which are as follows:

Sonat

	Sonat Rs.
Lieut. Colonel's pay, and double batta - -	1,488
Fixed salary -	1,000
Contingencies, moonshees, servants, &c. -	500
Total -	2,988

Mr. Wombwell, paymaster and accountant general, one and an half commission on receipts.

Ordered, That the secretary do ascertain, from Mr. Wombwell, the amount of the allowance that he draws, either from the Company or from the Vizier, for the respective offices of paymaster general in the upper provinces, and accountant at Lucknow; and that Mr. Wombwell do state the average monthly amount of his commission.

Mr. Wheler, assistant to the accountant general, 5,000 rupees.

Ordered, That Mr. Wheler's allowances be restricted to Sonaut rupees 512 per month, being the allowance usually granted to the assistants to foreign ministers.

Commanding officers at Cawnpoor and Futty Ghur, in lieu of bazar customs, each one lack of rupees per annum, 16,666 per mensem.

Ordered, That the secretary do ascertain from the records, and acquaint the Board, whether this allowance to the commanding officers in the Vizier's country has received the Board's sanction, or whether such sanction can have been supposed to have been implied by any of the Board's proceedings.

The Board are of opinion, that this allowance should be reduced, and that the camps should be supplied as they were before it was granted, but under such checks as shall remove

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those grounds of complaint from which it may have had its rise.

Lieut. Colonel Martin, keeper of the arsenal, batta, &c. of his rank, 3,730 per mensem.

Agreed, That Lieutenant Col. Martin be restricted to drawing from the Vizier the difference between Lieut. Colonel's pay and double batta, and the pay and batta of a captain, which he now receives: the Vizier will of course defray the expence of his own arsenal.

Mr. Blaine, surgeon to the Vizier, and to the civil establishment, rupees 5,000 per mensem.

Mr. Bruce, surgeon to the military establishment, 2,000 per mensem.

Agreed, That Messrs. Blaine and Bruce be restricted to the pay, batta, and allowances of full surgeons in the field; which are as follows:

		S. rup.
Double batta, at 12 rupees per day	-	360
Pay 4 rupees do.	-	124
		484
Besides the charge allowed for medicines to a full surgeon attached to a sepoy regiment in the field, which is	-	200
Total Sonaut rup.		684

Mr. Scawen, auditor general, 2,000 per mensem.

Ordered, That the decision relative to this office do lie for consideration, but that Mr. Scawen do, in the interim, only draw the allowance that he receives from the Company, which is Sonaut rupees 1,946 per mensem.

Mr. Gall, assistant to the auditor general, 1,000 per mensem,

Mr. Gall not being a servant of the Company, the Board cannot authorize any allowance to this gentleman.

Major

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Major Browne, on a deputation to the Shah, 3,000 per mensem.

Mr. Bird, secretary to do. 1,000 per do.

The embassy to the Shah having been withdrawn, the allowances have ceased of course.

—

Lieutenant Anderson, on a deputation to Mahajee Sindia, 3,000 rupees per mensem.

The Board cannot authorize the Vizier's allowance to Lieut. Anderson.

Commanding officer of the regiment stationed at Lucknow, for the protection of the Commpany's treasure, rupees 2,000 per mensem.

The allowance to this officer must be restricted to the monthly amount paid to the commanding officer of a regiment of sepoys, upon any particular service in the Vizier's country: it is as follows:

	S. rup.
Double batta, at 30 rupees per day	900
Pay - 6 rupees do.	186
For iron, steel, charcoal, and repairing arms -	150
Tent allowance	150
Hircarrahs, guides, &c. - -	150
S. rupees	1,536

Captain Frith, commanding 4 battalions of sepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever, 5,000 per mensem.

The Board know nothing of Captain Frith's appointment, and cannot therefore authorize the allowance.

Mr. Gregory, assistant to the civil establishment, 2,000 rupees per mensem.

Mr. Gregory is appointed in the general letter from the Court of Directors, bearing date 12th July 1782, para. 61. "to be assistant "to the revenue council at "Patna, and to succeed to "that chiefship on the first "vacancy."

Agreed, That his appointment, as an assistant on the civil establishment at Lucknow, be reduced, and himself recalled, and that

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	that the pension of his rank be granted to him while he continues out of employ.
Messrs. Grant and Johnstone, assistants on the civil establishment, each 2,000 per month.	Agreed, That the appointment of these gentlemen be reduced, and themselves recalled.
Mr. Taylor, dawk master, 1,000 rupees per mensem, for dawk, and 1,000 rupees for dawk bearers.	Agreed, That Mr. Taylor be recalled, unless the Governor-general should think it necessary to his correspondence with Lucknow, that there should be a dawk master, in which case, as Mr. Taylor now holds that office, he may be continued in it for the present.
Mr. Orr, employed by Mr. Wombwell, 2,000 rupees per month.	Mr. Orr not being in the Company's service, no allowance to him can be authorized.
Mr. Willes, sizawal for the Vizier's tribute at Furruckabad, allowed 48,000 rupees for a battalion of infantry, 5,000 for artillery, 10,000 rupees for horse, annually, and a commission of 3 per cent. upon the tribute. N. B.—The commission is paid by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung.	Ordered, That the secretary do ascertain, from Mr. Willes, the amount of the several allowances that he draws either from the Company, the Vizier, or the Nabob of Furruckabad, whether the same be in salary or commission, in his office of sizawal for the Vizier's tribute from that country.
Captain John Mordaunt 8,000 rupees per mensem.	The Board neither have authorized, nor can authorize, any allowance to Captain Mordaunt, at he is out of the Company's service.

Ordered, That the foregoing resolutions of the Board be notified to Major Palmer, in a letter from the Secretary; and that he write to him as follows:

To Major William Palmer, at Lucknow.

Sir,

The Governor-general has directed me to acknowledge his receipt of your letter, bearing date the 27th March, and enclosing a list of allowances from the Nabob Vizier

to

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to the Company's servants, civil and military, and to persons employed under them, within his Excellency's dominions. These papers have been laid before the Board, and some resolutions have been already passed, which I am ordered to communicate to you for immediate effect.

The monthly allowances drawn by yourself are restricted to the amount of those usually paid to a minister of this government at a foreign court, which are as follows:

Lt. Colonel's pay, and double batta	St. Rs.	1,488
Fixed salary		1,000
Contingencies, including Moonshees, servants, &c.		500
Total St. Rs.		2,988

Mr. Trevor Wheler, assistant to the accomptant at Lucknow, is to draw only the monthly salary of Sonaut rupees 512.

Lieutenant Colonel Martin is to draw only Lieutenant Colonel's pay, and double batta, his Excellency will of course defray the expences of his own arsenal.

Mr. Blaine, surgeon to the Vizier and to the civil establishment, and Mr. Bruce, surgeon to the military establishment at Lucknow, are each restricted to the pay, batta, and allowances of full surgeons in the field, which are as follows:

Double batta 12 rupees per day	St. Rs.	360
Pay 4		124
Besides the charge allowed for medicines to a full surgeon attached to a Sepoy regiment in the field, which is		200
Total Sonaut rupees		684

The Board have it in contemplation, to reduce the appointment of Auditor-general, but while it continues, Mr. Scawn is only to draw the allowance of Sonaut rupees 1,946 per mensum.

Mr. Gall not being a servant to the Company, the Board cannot authorize any allowance to this gentleman.

The embassy to the Shah having been withdrawn, the allowances to Major Browne and Mr. Bird have ceased of course.

The Board cannot authorize the Vizier's allowance to Lt. Anderson, Resident with Mahajee Sindia.

The allowance to the commanding officer of the regiment stationed at Lucknow for the protection of the Company's treasure, is restricted to the monthly amount paid

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to the commanding officer of a regiment of Sepoys, employed on any particular ſervice in the Vizier's country. It is as follows:

Double batta, at 30 rupees per day	-	St. Rs.	900
Pay	6	-	186
For iron, ſteel, charcoal, and repairing arms		-	150
Tent allowance	-	-	150
Hircarrahs, guides, &c.	-	-	150
Total Sonaut rupees		-	1,536

The Board direct me to obſerve, that they know nothing of Captain Frith's appointment, and cannot therefore authorize the allowance to this officer.

Mr. Gregory's appointment, as an aſſiſtant on the civil eſtabliſhment at Lucknow, is reduced, and the penſion aſſigned to gentlemen of his rank in the ſervice is granted to him while he remains out of employ. He is recalled, with Meſſrs. Grant and Johnſtone, whoſe appointment as aſſiſtants are reduced alſo.

The Board have been pleaſed to reſolve, that Mr. Taylor be recalled, unleſs the Governor-general ſhould think it neceſſary to his correſpondence with Lucknow that there ſhould be a Dawk maſter at that place, in which caſe, as Mr. Taylor now holds that office, he is to be continued in it for the preſent.

Mr. Orr not being in the Company's ſervice, no allowance to this gentleman can be authorized.

The Board neither have authorized, nor can authorize any allowance to Captain Mordaunt, as he is not in the Company's ſervice.

No ſums having been placed in your liſt oppoſite to the names of Meſſrs. Willis and Wombwell, enquiries are ordered reſpecting the actual allowances of thoſe gentlemen, and the Board will determine on them hereafter.

The Governor-general deſires that you will be pleaſed to inform the Nabób Vizier of theſe reſolutions of the honourable Board, and communicate them alſo to the gentlemen whom they reſpectively concern. The allowances that are granted are to be conſidered as allowances from the Company, and in lieu of all others, they are to be paid by the Accountant at Lucknow, and charged in the public accounts to the Nabob's debit.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Council Chamber,
Secret Department
of Inſpection,
3d May 1785.

App.
(Signed) J. M'PHERSON.
J. STABLES.

Extract

Extract of Proceedings of the Governor-general and Council, in their Secret Department of Inspection, the 12th May 1785.

THE Secretary lays before the Board the following letter, and its enclosures, from the Accountant at Lucknow, and military Paymaster-general in the Upper Provinces.

Edward Hay, Esquire, Secretary.

Sir,

In obedience to your commands, I have the honour to transmit to you a statement of the sums that have been received monthly by the Accountant at Lucknow. The Vizier, with the consent of the late Governor-general, has thought proper to allow me a commission of one and a half per cent. Large as the commission will appear, it should be remembered, that it was given to me in lieu of those great advantages which I should have derived from my office, if, in the course of the late arrangement at Lucknow, an alteration had not taken place in the exchange in the Lucknow rupees; and that after the close of the present year, the Nabob's debt to the Company having been discharged, the commission will be reduced to the actual disbursements to the Company's troops in the dominions of his Excellency the Vizier.

I transmit also a statement of the establishments of the Accountant and Paymaster-general.

I have taken the liberty to enclose the copy of a letter I received, unsolicited, from the Vizier, the day of my departure from Lucknow.

Having occasion for another assistant in the office of Accountant, I request you will mention to the honourable Board, that a great favour will be conferred on me in the appointment of Mr. Marcus Sackville Taylor, now at Lucknow, to that office.

I am with respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient, and
most humble servant,
(Signed) J. WOMBWELL,
Account. and Paymaster-gen. at Lucknow.

Calcutta,
12th May 1785.

Receipts of the Accountant-general.

February 1784 -	5,13,950	3	11
March - -	4,89,347	10	6
April - -	28,72,894	2	2
May - -	1,31,370	1	3

June

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June - - -	3,02,057	3	—
July - -	-		-
August - -	23,48,308	2	7
September - -	3,14,000	—	—
October -	5,00,000	—	—
November - -	5,00,000	—	—
December -	20,00,000	—	—
January 1785 -	3,25,000	—	—
February - -	3,25,000	—	—
March - - -	3,25,000	—	—
Fyz. 16 Sun Sa. Rs.	1,09,45,927	5	5

The Establishment of the Office of Paymaster General without the Provinces.

Salary per month -	746	13	—
Batta per day, 40l. per month	1,240	—	—
House rent - -	400	—	—
Allowance for Sircars Shroffs	364	—	—
Establishment for his office	1,121	—	—
St. Rs.	3,871	13	—

The establishment of the office of Accountant to my salary for the month of February - - -	1,000	—	—
To allowance for monthly writers, duftories, stationary, candles, and other contingencies - - -	1,121	—	—
To allowance for house and office rent	400	—	—
C. Sa. Rs.	2,600	—	—

Translation of a Persian Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. John Wombwell.

WHATEVER allowances have been settled for your services at my Sircar were voluntary, and given with all my heart; and with respect to the commission of 1½ per cent. fixed for you upon my disbursements to the army, it was established by my consent; and my orders are, to continue to you during your residence with me.

Ordered, That the commission of 1½ per cent. granted by the Vizier to the Accountant at Lucknow be annulled, and do cease, from the 1st proximo; and that Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell be informed thereof.

The Board will take into consideration the establishments annexed to the Accountantship at Lucknow, and to

to the office of Paymaster-general beyond the provinces, when the resolution of the 11th March last, That no civil servant be permitted to draw the allowances and salaries of more than one office, &c. shall be carried into execution.

The Secretary lays before the Board the following letter from the Resident at Furruckabad:

To Mr. Edward Hay, Secretary.

Sir,

I HAVE received the honourable Board's order, transmitted by you respecting my allowances at Furruckabad.

The allowance drawn by all my predecessors was six per cent. upon whatever was collected from the Furruckabad districts, and to the same, by my appointment, I was entitled; but by arrangements since my nomination I have had only 3 per cent.; and the whole that I have received this year amounts but to 10,500 rupees. This is from the Nabob Muzuffer Jung. I have no allowance from the Company or the Vizier.

The establishment to the Sezawal's office for Muttaseddies, Moonshies, and Writers, &c. is ten thousand rupees, which does not near defray the expence.

This is deducted from the Vizier's tribute.

There is a further deduction from the tribute, of fifty-one thousand rupees, for the payment of the Nujubs, which his Excellency the Vizier maintains in Furruckafor the protection of the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, as stipulated by an express article in the last treaty between them.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient servant,
(Signed) J. WILLIS, Resident.

Calcutta,
10th May 1785.

The Board having it in contemplation to propose some some arrangements for Furrckabad, ordered, That the foregoing letter from the Resident do lie for consideration until that period.

Read the following letter from the Secretary:

To the Honourable John Macpherson, Governor-general, &c. Council, in the Secret Department of Inspection.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Having been required by your orders of the 3d instant to ascertain from the records, and acquaint the Board, whether the allowance of two lacks of rupees per annum, received by the commanding officers in the Vizier's country in lieu of Bazar customs, has had the positive or implied

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plied function of this government, I beg leave to lay before you the following particulars, which are all that I can find in the Consultations on this subject.

An Arzee is recorded on the proceedings of the 2d November 1780, from Rajah Govind Ram, the Vakeel of the Nawaub Vizier, enclosing the copy of a letter that he had received from his Excellency, in which the Nawaub observed that the gentlemen stationed with the brigade at Cawnpore, Furruckabad, &c. wrote Perwannahs to the Aumils for every place, directing them to supply provisions and other necessaries for the army; that this method of proceeding brought great distress on his country, and he therefore wished it to be represented to the Governor-general, that it might be prevented in future, and that the gentlemen of the army might not send Sepoys into his districts; the Vizier said also, that on information being given to him and to the Company's Resident at this court, of the quantity of provisions wanted, orders should be immediately issued to the Aumils to furnish it every month, and the amount should be deducted from the Tuncaws.

Nothing appears to have been determined on the subject of this application until the 15th February 1781, when it was renewed in a letter from the Vizier to the Governor-general, and in a second from his Excellency to his Vakeel; the latter states the complaint more at large than it was stated before, and estimates the loss sustained in the Nawaub's revenue, from the conduct of the English officers at Cawnpore and Futty Ghur, at 3 lacks of rupees.

The late Governor-general observed, on submitting these representations to the Board, that the exercise of such a power as the Nawaub desired might be done away, must be inevitably attended with effects ascribed to it, and therefore ought to be suppressed, whether it were for the removal of past, or for the prevention of the future and only possible oppressions; and for these reasons and ends the Governor-general proposed that a general order should be issued to the army serving in the dominions of the Nawaub Vizier, stating his Excellency's complaints, and his consequent proposal to furnish the fixed military stations in his country with ample supplies of provisions and necessaries through his respective Aumils residing nearest to those stations, if it should be found necessary to employ their agency; and commanding in the most positive manner that from the first day of April 1781, no officer commanding at the fixed stations of Cawnpore, Futty Ghur, or Darnagur, or any other fixed or occasional station of the army, should on any account or pretence

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tence whatsoever issue Dustucks, Perwannahs, or other instruments, nor levy or receive, nor suffer any persons acting under his authority to levy or receive, duties upon articles brought into the camp or other Bazares, nor erect or possess Gunges, nor send out military guards for the purpose of seizing any sort of provision, necessaries, or merchandize, nor in any manner directly or indirectly impede the free progress or passage of any native merchant or dealer through any part of the dominions of the Nawaub of Owde.

The Governor-general observed, on proposing this regulation, that as in redressing the injury done to the Nawaub it might deprive the commanding officers of a long-established, and under just restrictions, perhaps a just, perquisite in the duties collected upon the provisions and necessaries voluntarily brought into the camp, he thought it just to recommend that the Nawaub should be requested to grant a monthly gratuity in compensation for the emoluments thus taken from the commanding officers for the better regulation of his government and revenues.

The general order was agreed to and issued, and the Governor-general was requested to inform the Vizier of the regulation contained in it, and urge him to grant such a gratuity, in lieu of the emoluments taken from the commanding officers, as he and Mr. Middleton might mutually agree upon as equitable, the same being previously submitted to the board for their approval.

It appears by a letter from Mr. Middleton, dated the 13th April, and recorded in consultation 4th June 1781, that the Vizier had chearfully assented to the recommendation made to him, and that he immediately sent his proposals to the commanding officers of the 2d brigade, and of the Darnagur detachment. These propositions, with the answers to them, shewed the final plan of adjustment, and Mr. Middelton laid them before the Board.

The gratuity fixed on by the Vizier for the commanding officer of the 2d brigade was one lack of rupees per annum, to commence from the 1st April 1781, and to be paid monthly; and the gratuity fixed on by the Vizier for the commanding officer at Darnagur was 36,000 rupees per annum.

No resolution, appoving or disapproving this allowance, appears to have been entered on the records, nor was any thing done upon the general subject, except that a reference was made to the commander in chief of some propositions laid before the Board by Colonel James Morgan, in consequence of the order of the 15th February, and his opinion was desired upon them.—An extract of Mr. Middelton's letter, and copies of the papers accompanying

companying it, were at the ſame time ſent to the General. I cannot, however, find any anſwer from the commander in chief to theſe references, nor do I believe that any were ſent in.

I have the honour, &c.

Fort William, honourable Sir and Sirs,
Secret Depart. of Inſp. Yours, &c.
7th May 1785. (Siged) E. HAY, Sec.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, 13th May 1785.

SOME doubts having been ſuggeſted with reſpect to the meaning that be given to that part of the letter written to Major Palmer on the 3d inſtant, which ſtates, that the allowances therein granted to the Company's ſervants at Lucknow were to be conſidered as allowances from the Company, and in lieu of all others; agreed, that the Secretary do acquaint Major Palmer, that theſe ſeveral allowances were fixed by the Board, as connected with the reſpective ſituations and offices of the gentlemen who are to draw them, but are not to deprive thoſe gentlemen of the allowances to which they are entitled, according to their rank in the civil or military ſervice of the Company.

Extract of Secret Letter from Bengal; 16th May 1785.

WE have the honour to acquaint you, that we have made very conſiderable reductions in ſome of the allowances paid by the Vizier to your ſervants, &c. at Lucknow, and annulled others. The total ſaving amounts to more than twelve lacks per annum. The particulars will be mentioned to you by the firſt opportunity that may offer for our tranſmitting to you fuller advices. We have ordered, that the allowances which are either agreed to or permitted by this government ſhall be recorded on your public accounts, and paid by your Accountant at Lucknow. We alſo think it neceſſary to inform you, that we are proceeding in the work of retrenchment with all poſſible diſpatch.

Extract of Bengal Secret Conſultations, the 26th May 1785.

To the Vizier: Written 12th May 1785.

I HAVE the pleaſure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, containing requeſts that you may be relieved, as much as poſſible, from expence for the gentlemen ſtationed at Lucknow. This is a matter full of important benefits,

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benefits; and I have attended to your wishes therein.—Accordingly some arrangements have been already resolved on, the particulars of which will be communicated to you by Major Palmer.

Secret Department of Inspection.

Fort William, 28th June 1785.

At a Council; Present,
The Honourable John Macpherson, Esquire, Governor-general, President,
John Stables, Esquire, and
The Honourable Charles Stuart.

Read and approved the proceedings of yesterday.

Read the following letter from the Governor-general to the Vizier and his ministers, and the Vizier's reply.

To the Vizier: Written 12*th May* 1785.

I HAVE the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of two of your letters, containing requests that you may be relieved as much as possible from expence for the gentlemen stationed at Lucknow. This is a matter full of important benefits; and I have attended to your wishes therein accordingly. Some arrangements have been already resolved on, the particulars of which will be communicated to you by Major Palmer, to whom I refer you.

To Hyder Beg Khan, and Hussen Reza Khan, of the same tenor and date.

From the Vizier: Received 21*st June* 1785.

YOUR agreeable letter has arrived; and what you have ordered on the subject of the relieving me from the expences of the gentlemen, I learnt fully from the representations of Major Palmer, and became grateful for your favours and friendship. From your true affection I am convinced, that you will be favourable in relieving me from other expences also, because the particulars of my distresses are well known to you.

The Secretary lays before the Board the following letter from Major Palmer:

To

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To Edward Hay, Esquire, Secretary to the Secret Department, Fort William.

Sir,

When I had the honour to receive your letters of the 3d, 12th, and 13th ultimo, I was labouring under a very severe indisposition, which to this time has rendered me wholly incapable of any application to business; the substance of their communications has, however, been given to his Excellency the Vizier, who entertains a very grateful sense of the attention which the honourable Board have bestowed upon the state of his finances, and of the reductions which they have ordered for his relief. Upon this subject, and also those of the requisitions for the payment of the two Rossalahs of Mogul cavalry, and the Company of foreign infantry, I have had the honour to transmit the Vizier's answer to the honourable the Governor-general.

I have not yet been able to notify in form the resolutions of the Board to the several gentlemen who are affected by them; but shall proceed to do it immediately: You have not signified the intention of the Board as to the time when the reductions should take place, except those of the account general and commanding officers at Cawnpoor and Futtyghur; and it is doubtful whether the others are to have the same commencement, or that of the period which I informed the Governor-general I considered as terminating the authority by which I had acted in applying for the former allowances, that is, the departure of the late Governor-general from Lucknow. You will be so good as to inform the Accomptant-general at this station of the Board's decision upon this point.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient servant,
(Signed) Wm. PALMER.

Lucknow,
10th June 1785.

Ordered, That Major Palmer be informed, that the Vizier's allowances to the servants of the Company, and others at Lucknow, were not authorized by the Members of this government, who had no account or knowledge of them until they were stated by Major Palmer; that the Board connot interfere in the subject; and that they leave it to the Nabob to do as he may think proper.

Ordered, That this information be communicated to Lt. Colonel Harper, and to the Accountant at Lucknow.

(Signed) JOHN MACPHERSON.
JOHN STABLES.
CHARLES STUART.

Extract

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Extract of Letter from the Governor General and Council, in their Secret Department of Inspection; dated the 31st July 1785.

Par. 2. Among other objects of reform, which called for our attention, was the relief of your ally, the Nabob Vizier, from the very heavy burthen which report informed us was imposed upon him, in the allowances granted to your servants and others, resident in his dominions, but granted without our knowledge or approbation. The Governor-general having received from Major Palmer an account of all these allowances, laid the same before us for our consideration. Major Palmer's letter to the Governor-general, and the statement which accompanied it, are recorded in the Consultation noted in the margin *. The following orders and resolutions were passed thereupon, and communicated to the Nabob Vizier and Major Palmer, for immediate effect.

3. We restricted the allowances to the Governor General's agent at Lucknow to the amount usually paid to a minister of this government at a foreign court; viz. Sonat rupees 2,988 per month.

4. We reduced Mr. Wheler's allowances as Assistant to the Accountant at Lucknow, to the amount usually granted to the assistants to foreign ministers; viz. Sonat rupees 512 per month.

5. We permitted Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Keeper of the Nabob Vizier's arsenal, to draw only the difference between his pay and batta as a captain, which he receives from the Company, and the pay and double batta of his rank as Lieutenant Colonel.

6. We directed that Mr. Blaine and Mr. Bruce, surgeons to the Vizier, and to the civil and military establishments at Lucknow, should draw only the pay, batta, and allowances of full surgeons in the field; viz. Sonat rupees 684 per month.

7. We restricted the allowances to the officer commanding the regiment at Lucknow to the monthly amount paid to the commanding officer of a regiment of Sepoys on service in the Vizier's dominions; viz. Sonat rupees 1,536 per month.

8. The salaries paid to Major Browne, and his secretary, Mr. Bird, ceased of course, in consequence of the embassy to Shah Allum having been withdrawn; and the Governor-general's agent has been directed to acquaint the Vizier, that those paid to Lieutenant Anderson, Resident with Mahajee Sindia; to Captain Frith; to Mr.

* *Cons. 3d May.*

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Gall, aſſiſtant to the Auditor General; and, to Mr. Orr, aſſiſtant to Mr. Wombwell, cannot be authorized.

9. We have annulled the appointments of Meſſrs. Gregory, Grant, and Johnſtone, as aſſiſtants to the civil eſtabliſhment at Lucknow, as well as that of Mr. Taylor, the Dawk maſter; but the Governor-general has been authorized by us to continue that gentleman in his ſtation, if he ſhould think it neceſſary to his correſpondence at Lucknow, that there ſhould be a Dawk maſter there.

10. Having called upon Mr. Wombwell, the Paymaſter-general and Accountant at Lucknow, to ſtate to us the amount which he drew either from the Company or from the Vizier for theſe offices, and to acquaint us with the average monthly amount of his commiſſion; and having received from that gentleman an account of the ſame, we reſolved that his commiſſion ſhould be annulled from the 1ſt of June, and that the eſtabliſhment of his offices of Accountant at Lucknow, and Paymaſter-general beyond the provinces, ſhould be taken into conſideration, when our reſolution of the 11th of March laſt, that no civil ſervant ſhould be permitted to draw the allowances and ſalaries of more than one office, ſhould be carried into execution.

11. The allowances granted by the Vizier, of one lack of rupees per annum to the officers commanding in his Excellency's dominions, in lieu of Bazar cuſtoms, have been diſcontinued, and the mode which was in practice before the year 1781, for ſupplying the camp Bazars in the Nabob's country with proviſions, has been renewed under the following regulations; which, we doubt not, will enſure conſtant ſupplies to the army, and prevent all grounds of complaint from his Excellency's officers in future, ſimilar to thoſe which gave occaſion to the former regulation.

1ſt. "That the commanding officers do not, on any "account whatſoever, iſſue Purwannahs for any articles "but the proviſions actually required for the conſump- "tion and uſe of officers, ſoldiers, and camp followers, "at their reſpective ſtations.

2dly. "That they do not collect duties upon any "articles before ſuch articles ſhall be brought into their "Bazars. Every commanding officer being, in a great "meaſure, reſponſible for the ſupply of his camp, theſe "duties will of courſe be reaſonable, or no proviſions "will be broughtin to it; there is therefore no occaſion to "reſtrict their amount; beſides, the Board have an entire "confidence in the commanding officers, that no duties "will be levied but ſuch as are neceſſary for the general

"regulation

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" regulation of the prices of the provisions, and for defraying the expence of their Cutwally establishment.

3dly. " That no military guards be sent out for the purpose of seizing provisions or merchandize, or permitted to impede in any manner, directly or indirectly, the free progress or passage of any native merchant or dealer, through any part of the dominions of the Nabob of Oude.

4thly. " That no officer under the commanding officer be allowed the privilege of issuing a Purwanna for provisions, unless such officer be employed on detachment, and receive the authority of his commanding officer for this purpose.

5thly. " That every officer issuing Purwannas for provisions, &c. be careful to receive back such Purwannas, on return of the persons to camp to whom they were delivered; and if the whole quantity specified in each be not brought in at one time, new Purwannas are to be granted for the remainder.

6thly. " That all officers do keep a register of all Purwannas granted by them respectively, that no improper use may be made of them, or if detected, that the persons to whom they were delivered may be identified, and punished.

" Any disobedience in any officer to the rules here laid down will, on proof thereof, be considered as disobedience of orders, and treated accordingly."

12. The office of Auditor-general of the accounts of the troops serving beyond the Provinces has been abolished, and these accounts are in future to be audited by the Commissary-general, in the same manner as before the appointment of Auditor-general beyond the Carumnassa took place, Mr. Scawen, who held this office, is admitted to the station of Deputy Commissary-general, in obedience to the orders of your honourable Court of the 17th May 1780, and in the room of Mr. William Atkinson, who has resigned.

13. We have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the Governor-general has received a letter from the Vizier, expressing his gratitude for our interference in his behalf, and for the relief which we have thus afforded him, which we trust will enable his Excellency to discharge with punctuality the claims which we have upon him on account of the troops stationed for the defence of his country.

14. A question having been stated to us by Major Palmer, at what period the reductions we had ordered should take place, we acquainted him in reply, that as the

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the former allowances were not authorized by us, and as we had no knowledge of them, till they were ſtated to us by himſelf, we could not interfere in the ſubject, but left it to the Nabob to do as he might think proper.

Allowances in Oude.

Liſt of Allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Servants of the Company, Civil and Military, employed in his Excellency's Dominions.

	Monthly. Former Allowances.	Monthly. Preſent Allowances.
Major Palmer, agent from the Governor-general at the Durbar, for dawks, eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of intelligence, ſervants, cattle, and table expences, upon an average	—	19,000
Mr. Wombwell, paymaſter and accountant-general, one and a half commiſſion on receipts -		
Mr. Wheler, aſſiſtant to Mr. Wombwell - - -	5,000	5,000
Commanding Officers at Cawnpoor and Futtyghur, in lieu of Bazar cuſtoms, each one lack of rupees per annum - - -	—	16,666
Lieutenant Colonel Martin, keeper of the arſenal, pay, batta of his rank	—	3,730
Mr. Blaine, ſurgeon to the Vizier, and to the civil eſtabliſhment -	8,000	5,000
Mr. Bruce, do. to the military eſtabliſhment - -	3,000	2,000
Mr. Scawen, auditor general -	—	2,000
Mr. Gall, aſſiſtant to do. -	—	1,000
Major Browne, on a deputation to the Shah - - -	—	3,000
Mr. Bird, ſecretary to do. -	—	1,000
Lieutenant Anderſon, on a deputation to Mahajee Sindia - -	—	3,000
Commanding Officer of the regiment ſtationed at Lucknow, for the protection of the Company's treaſury	—	2,000

Captain

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Captain Frith, commanding four battalions of Sepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever	—	5,000
Mr. Gregory, assistant on the civil establishment - -	3,000	2,000
Messrs. Grant and Johnstone, ditto, each 2,000 rupees -	—	4,000
Mr. Taylor, dawk master, 1,000 rupees for dawks, and 1,000 rupees for dawk bearers - -	—	2,000
Mr. Orr, employed by Mr. Wombwell - - -	—	2,000
Mr. Willis, Sihzawal for the Vizier's tribute at Furruckabad, allowed 48,000 rupees for a battalion of infantry, 5,000 rupees for artillery, 10,000 rupees for horse, annually, and a commission of 3 per cent. upon the tribute.—N. B. The commission is paid by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung		
Captain John Mordaunt -	8,000	8,000

Extract of Secret Letter from Bengal; *16th May* 1785.

We have the honour to acquaint you, that we have made very considerable reductions in some of the allowances paid by the Vizier to your servants, &c. at Lucknow, and annulled others. The total saving amounts to more than twelve lacks per annum. The particulars will be mentioned to you by the first opportunity that may offer for our transmitting to you fuller advices. We have ordered, that the allowances which are either agreed to or permitted by this government shall be recorded on your public accounts, and paid by your Accountant at Lucknow. We also think it necessary to inform you, that we are proceeding in the work of retrenchment with all possible dispatch.

Copy

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Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Harper to the Hon. John Macpherson, Esq. Governor General of Bengal, dated the 20*th* of Sep.; and, of another Letter dated the 25*th* of October 1785, relative to the State and Condition of the Province of Oude, and the Payment of the Balances due from the Nabob Vizier to the East India Company.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 11th October 1785.

The Governor-general lays before the Board the following letter, which he has received from Lieutenant Colonel Harper, and from the Vizier and his ministers.

To the Honourable John Macpherson, Esq. Governor-general, &c. &c. &c.

Honourable Sir,

The inclosed copy of a letter, which I this day received from Mr. Wombwell, the Accomptant here, will shew you, that the balance of the crore and five lacks of rupees, due from the Vizier's government to the honourable Company for the Fussullee year 1192, is now finally settled.

I shall proceed with the Vizier and his ministers to make out the estimate for the ensuing year; and, knowing the necessities of your government, and the protection afforded to the Nabob's dominions by the British troops, my utmost endeavours shall be exerted to make the supplies as considerable as possible, and to obtain a sum of ready money to pay off the arrears to that part of the army at present stationed for the security of these provinces.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
with the greatest respect,
Honourable Sirs,
your faithful servant,
(Signed) G. HARPER,
Minis. Gov. Gen. at Lucknow.

Lucknow,
the 20th Sept. 1785.

Sir, The 20th Sept. 1785, Lucknow.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that I have this moment received from the Minister the bills on Calcutta and Surat, and which complete the agreement of his Highness

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Highness the Vizier with the honourable Company for the Fussullee year 1192.

I am, with respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
J. WOMBWELL,
Accomptant.

Lieut. Col. G. Harper,
Minister for the Governor-general at the Court of the Vizier.

A true copy.
(Signed) G. Harper,
Minister, Lucknow.

From the Vizier: Received 3d October 1785.

By the blessing of God, and the good favour and assistance of your Excellency, one kwse and five lacks of rupees of the money of the Company's Sircar have been, without balance, paid according to engagement, from the collections of the money, and the loans of the bankers. In return for the favours that you have, on every respect, given me ease of mind and confidence, and that my ministers and the bankers, being comforted, have paid the money of the Company's government, I bring thanks and praises from my tongue, and may the Almighty preserve you for these attentions to friendship! My friendly heart is convinced, that by the blessing of God and your favours, in future also the money of the Company's Sircar will be properly paid, and the management of this concern, and the cultivation of the country, will be cause of a daily increase of reputation to you.—My hope from your kindness is this, that you will always continue fixed in the same favour of heart to my concerns.

From Hyder Beg Khan: Received 3d October 1785.

By the blessing of God, and your Excellency's favours and assistance, the money of the Company's Sircar one crse, and five lacks of rupees, which in the year 1192 Fussillee had been engaged by his Highness, has been paid without balance, from the collections of the country and the loans of the bankers. The good state of the affairs of both governments, and the payment of the money of the Company's Sircar, and the cultivation of the country, are solely from your Excellency's favours; that you have in every respect granted strength to his Highness, and have bestowed favours and kindnesses upon us, from which ease of mind having been received, the completion of the monies of the Company's Sircar has properly taken place. I return thanks for your kindnesses and favours. In future also, the blessing of God and the favours of your

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your Excellency, the completion of the monies of the Company's Sircar, and the payment of the debts to the bankers, and the cultivation of the country, will properly take place.—Every hand is employed in prayers for the increase of your life and dignity.

To the Honourable John Macpherson, Esq. Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Honourable Sir,

I have already had the pleasure to acquaint you, under date the 20th ultimo, of the final settlement of the crore and five lacks of rupees which were paid by the Nabob to the honourable Company: I have the honour now to inform you, that for the service of the present Fussullee year 1193, beginning the 19th of last mouth, and ending in September following, the Vizier and his ministers have agreeed to furnish sixty-five lacks of rupees, which, by the account I now inclose, you will perceive provides for the sums that I have been directed to bring into the account with this government, as well as the arrears of the Futty Ghur detachment, the subsidy for the Cawnpoor brigade, and part of the estimate for the Futty Ghur troops for the present year 1193. And the Vizier and his ministers, approving the present mode of carrying on the business of this court with your presidency, being sensible of its utility to both governments, being desirous of relieving the honourable Company from any expence, where they derive at least an equal advantage from the cause of it, and to testify also their sense of your attention to their convenience, in reducing the expence of salaries, beg me to entreat, you will allow them to defray the arrears and salaries of the present year to the servants of the residency here, and allowances to the military officers, who, by your orders of the 3d of May last, are entitled to receive them, the account of which I have now the honour to transmit; whereby you will perceive, that it will prove a saving to the honourable Company of 1,62,164 rupees; so that in fact, the money that is to be paid by this government for the service of yours for this year, will be a clear net revenue, unattended with any expence or diminution.

The kists or monthly payments for the present year, of 3,25,000 rupees, will be regularly paid, and which, when the arrears to the troops shall be in part wholly liquidated, will be found I hope sufficient for both stations; and to enable you to pay off as much of those arrears as they can, the ministers agree to furnish, over and above the regular kists, whatever is possible between this time and the

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the 15th of December: a particular account of which, as well as the Kistbundee itself, I shall have the honour to forward, as soon as the sum can be ascertained. In the mean time I am endeavouring, with the assistance of the minister, to obtain ready money, by every means in my power, to relieve the present distresses of the troops.

I have also the honour to tell you, that the Vizier and his ministers, looking to future events, and a firmer establishment of friendship with the honourable Company, have, I think, in contemplation to propose to you a specific sum for the service of the Fussellee year 1194; and as soon as there shall remain no doubt of the present harvest succeeding as happily as it promises (on which every thing depends) I hope to acquaint you with the amount; and if you approve of my doing so, I shall urge it at the proper season, and endeavour to obtain a fund at least equal to your expences, so that the disbursements for both years shall be completely provided for.

When I make this communication of what appears to me to be favourable events, I must acquaint you with the source from whence they spring. It is, Sir, the confidence you have, by your actions towards this government, established in the minds of the Vizier and his ministers, of your fixed resolution to support them in all their rights, demanding nothing but what is just for the protection afforded their country, and enabling them to take measures to revive the prosperity and happiness of these provinces, which already begin to wear a face of joy: hence they have the ability to furnish these supplies so soon after paying off so large a sum of money as the honourable Company's late accumulated debt. At the same time I must acquaint you, Sir, that the Nabob and his ministers have strained every nerve on this occasion to testify their desire to assist the honourable Company; and particularly to convince you, Sir, and the gentlemen who compose the present honourable Board, of their high respect and veneration.

And that I might, as much as lay within the compass of my own abilities, be assisting to these ends, and to enable the Vizier and his ministers not only to fulfil their late engagements, but to provide as amply as possible for the future expences of the troops, and other exigencies of the honourable Company, I have, upon a representation from the minister, that the revenue was much injured by the monopoly of saltpetre, absolutely given up all pretensions to it, nor will I employ any agent to make or purchase a single maund.

The monopoly of saltpetre has been so long attached to the office of Resident at this place, that it has been

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looked on as a perquisite of right; and when I give it up, I know I part with twenty thousand pounds sterling per annum; but twenty thousand pounds a year bears no estimation in my mind, when the relinquishing it serves to promote the public service, and to obtain the approbation of you, Sir, and of the honourable Board, who have in so flattering a manner ratified your nomination of me to this office, and from whom it is I hope to receive the reward I shall endeavour to deserve.

I esteem it the most fortunate event of my life, that I have been selected to assist your endeavours to promote the public service, and to procure happiness to this almost ruined country. I claim no merit beyond a desire to execute your wishes, and the plan you have laid down, which you have enabled me to do by the support you have given me; and even this would have been insufficient, had it not been attended by a noble confidence and friendship, which, whilst it stimulated me to an ardent desire to do my duty, assured me I had nothing to dread as long as my conduct tended to promote the general good.

The late Governor-general, soon after his arrival in Bengal, thought proper to remove me from a very honourable station I then held at the Court of Sujah ul Dowlah. Before his departure, however, from India, he was so good as acquaint me with his reasons for doing it; and I must own they would have been just, had they ever existed: it is foreign to my purpose to trouble you with them at this time—suffice it to say, that Mr. Hastings, the day before he left Calcutta, did me the honour to assure me "he had always approved my former conduct, which, had he continued in the government, he would have given me proofs of; that he could then only assist me by recommending me to his successor as a person fit to be employed in public trust." Mr. Hastings did speak to you, Sir, and you have selected me, almost a perfect stranger to your acquaintance, and in preference to many gentlemen who had the nearest claims on you, to fill the most important station which I conceive an individual can enjoy under your government; for this friendship, and flattered by the motives of your partiality, it is but bare duty in me to make you every return in my power, by a faithful discharge of the trust reposed in me; but, Sir, my honour and gratitude prompt me to much more than this; and when I express my hopes of your continuance in the first office in India, and for health to do the arduous duties of it, I know I am wishing for the greatest good fortune to the honourable Company's possessions, as well as to these provinces.

I flatter

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I flatter myself the honourable Board's approbation and ratification will follow this communication of what I have done with this government, and after providing for all the articles of the general account, and supplying as much as possible for the arrears and expences of all the troops at Cawnpoor and Futty Ghur, to the end of this Fussullee year 1193, that is in September 1786, the Vizier and his ministers hope you will be pleased and satisfied with their conduct, and give them an acquittal of public demands. I wish, Sir, you may perceive the good effects that will surely arise from this mutual attention to each other's confidence and convenience; it will be the means I hope of getting more in the next year than you may obtain for the specific article of pay to the Futty Ghur detachment—it will certainly tend to improve the revenues of this country, whence your government may on any future emergency draw very great resources, and it will assist to obliterate the recollection of some past acts that perhaps had better never happened, and the immediate profits of which have probably not compensated for the opinions those acts have served to establish in the minds of the princes and people of all the provinces of India. It is under your administration, Sir, that I am confident we are to see those sentiments revive which formerly were of more consequence than even our military character, and both united made the British arms invincible, and their name the admiration of the East.

I have thus presumed, from a principle of duty, to touch on points not immediately though relatively connected with the original subject of this address. I should think myself unworthy the post I hold to have been at this time totally silent on them, professing, as I do, the highest respect, and taking pride in subscribing myself,

Honourable Sir,

Lucknow, Your faithful servant,
25th Oct. 1785. (Signed) GABRIEL HARPER,
Minister for the Governor-general at the Vizier's Court.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

ESTIMATE

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ESTIMATE of CLAIMS for 1193.

ARMY.

Arrears Futtyghur detachments	11,60,000	
Brigade for 12 months -	31,20,000	
Regiments at Lucknow - -	3,00,000	
Futtyghur detachments -	17,40,000	
		63,20,000
Mirza Saudit Ally - -		2,00,000
Rohilla ſtipends - - -		61,578
Mr. Fraſer's bond, and intereſts - -		1,70,000
Intereſt due to the Shroffs - -		4,00,000
Contingent bills of Majors Lumſdain, Gilpin, Captain Dennis, &c.; and arrears reſident's guard - - -		1,29,456
Abdul Rheman Cawn's Candahar cavalry -		76,000
Batta to the Shroffs 5. 9. 3 on the balance due them when the late Governor fixed the Lucknow Sicca Rupees to paſs as of equal value with the Fyzabad 16 Suns -		71,910
Lucknow Sicca Rupees -		74,28,944

The Vizier and his miniſters, in compliance with the deſire of the Board communicated to Lieutenant Colonel Harpen, have conſented to include the ſum of 71,910 rupees, for batta to the ſhroffs; but obſerves, that if the honourable Board will be ſo good as order an inveſtigation of this tranſaction, it will be diſcovered, that it has already been adjuſted with the ſhroffs, and that their preſent demand is not founded in juſtice.

(Signed) GABRIEL HARPER,
Miniſ. Lucknow, for the G. General.

A true Copy.
E. Hay,
Secretary.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.